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VOLUME XLVIII

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

M. CHAMBERS

W. E. H. COCKLE

J. C. SHELTON

E. G. TURNER

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## PREFACE

THIS volume contains three groups of texts. In 3368-71 Sir Eric Turner publishes four papyri of Menander's *Misoumenos*; this publication replaces the preliminary version of two of them, printed in *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 63 (1978) 315 ff. 3372-83 are papyri of Herodotus, identified and assembled in the main by Mr Lobel and by the General Editors. (Two items, 3374 and 3376, group numerous fragments collected from different parcels on the basis of the handwriting. The reader is warned of the normal hazards of this process. Some pieces may have been missed; some scraps, which have not been identified as Herodotus, may be wrongly included; some fragments, which have been so identified, may come from a different copy in similar handwriting.) Professor Chambers offered himself for the task of editing these; and he has borne the main burden of transcribing and commenting on them. Dr W. E. H. Cockle contributed much to the reading of difficult traces and the placing of smaller fragments (especially in 3376). Sir Eric Turner criticized successive drafts, and also made suggestions for the final form of the general introduction. Mr Parsons revised the resulting MS against the originals, and prepared it for the printer; he must take responsibility for any defects. 3384-429 comprise the private papers of Papnuthis and Dorotheus. This archive, which covers forty or more years in the mid fourth century AD, and allows a striking view of the Egyptian bureaucracy and the Greek language at its lower levels, has been edited by Professor John Shelton.

Professor Chambers records his thanks to Miss Catherine Perry, who assisted in the reading of proof. The General Editors are grateful to Dr Helen Cockle, for making the index to 3368-71, and to Professor Shelton, who himself indexed 3384-429; and to the managers, readers, and compositors of the Oxford University Press for their skill and cooperation.

P. J. PARSONS  
J. R. REA  
E. G. TURNER  
*General Editors,  
Graeco-Roman Memoirs*

May 1981

## CONTENTS

PREFACE	v
TABLE OF PAPYRI	ix
LIST OF PLATES	xi
NUMBERS AND PLATES	xi
NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS	xii
NOTE ON INVENTORY NUMBERS	xiii
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO PUBLISHED PAPYRI	xv

### TEXTS

I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS (3368-3371)	i
II. KNOWN LITERARY TEXTS (3372-3383)	22
III. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS (3384-3430)	74

### INDEXES

I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS	149
II. EMPERORS AND REGNAL YEARS	152
III. CONSULS	152
IV. INDICATIONS	152
V. MONTHS	152
VI. PERSONAL NAMES	153
VII. GEOGRAPHICAL	
(a) Countries, Nomes, Cities, etc.	155
(b) Villages, etc.	155
(c) Amphoda	156
VIII. RELIGION	156
IX. OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TERMS AND TITLES	156
X. PROFESSIONS, TRADES, AND OCCUPATIONS	157
XI. MEASURES AND MONEY	
(a) Measures	157
(b) Money	157
XII. TAXES	157
XIII. GENERAL INDEX OF WORDS	158

## TABLE OF PAPYRI

### I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

3368	Menander, <i>Misoumenos</i>	3rd cent.*	2
3369	Menander, <i>Misoumenos</i>	3rd cent.	5
3370	Menander, <i>Misoumenos</i>	2nd/3rd cent.	7
3371	Title: Menander, <i>Misoumenos</i> (?)	2nd cent.	9

### II. KNOWN LITERARY TEXTS

3372	Herodotus i 6, 2-9, 2	Late 1st/early 2nd cent.	29
3373	Herodotus i 51, 4-54, 1	3rd cent.	32
3374	Herodotus i 57, 3 etc. (Addenda to XVII 2096)	Late 2nd/early 3rd cent.	34
3375	Herodotus i 61, 2-62, 2	3rd cent.	42
3376	Herodotus i 187, ii 51-141	2nd cent.	43
3377	Herodotus ii 161, 1-3	Early 2nd cent.	66
3378	Herodotus iii 37, 2	Late 2nd/early 3rd cent.	67
3379	Herodotus iv 168, 1-2	3rd cent.	67
3380	Herodotus v 30, 2-3	Late 1st/early 2nd cent.	68
3381	Herodotus vii 169, 2-170, 1	2nd cent.	69
3382	Herodotus viii 1, 1-2	2nd/3rd cent.	71
3383	Herodotus viii 2, 2-5, 1	2nd/3rd cent.	72

### III. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

3384	Lease of a House	14 Apr. 331	77
3385	Order to Deliver Wine	9 Nov. 336	78
3386	Lease of Half a House	28 Mar. 338	78
3387	Order from Sarapammon to Pamutais	9 May 342	80
3388	Order from Sarapammon to Papnuthis	27 Nov.-26 Dec. 342	81
3389	Appointment of a Representative	14 Mar. 343	81
3390	Order from Patas and Associates to Papnuthis	14 July 358	83
3391	Order from Horion to Papnuthis	16 Jan. 360	84
3392	Tax Receipt	14 June 360	84
3393	Petition to the <i>Riparii</i>	8 June 365	85
3394	Petition to Flavius Flavianus	4th cent. (364-6?)	88
3395	Skipper's Receipt for Grain Delivered	27 July 371	90
3396	Letter from Papnuthis to his Parents	4th cent.	91
3397	Letter from Papnuthis to Dorotheus	4th cent.	94
3398	Letter from Papnuthis to Dorotheus	4th cent.	97
3399	Letter from Papnuthis to Dorotheus	4th cent.	99
3400	Letter from Papnuthis to his landlord	c. 359-65	99
3401	Letter from Dorotheus to Papnuthis	4th cent.	103

\* All dates are AD

## TABLE OF PAPYRI

3402	Letter from Dorotheus to Papnuthis	4th cent.	104
3403	Letter from Maria to Papnuthis	4th cent.	105
3404	Letter from Hieracion to Papnuthis	4th cent.	106
3405	Order from Horion to Papnuthis	c. 360	107
3406	Letter from Clematia to Papnuthis	4th cent.	108
3407	Letter from the Landlady to Papnuthis and Hatres	4th cent.	108
3408	Letter from Chacremon to Dorotheus	4th cent.	110
3409	Letter from Chaeremon to Dorotheus	4th cent.	113
3410	Letter from Chaeremon to Dorotheus	4th cent.	115
3411	Letter from Choüs to Dorotheus	4th cent.	118
3412	Letter from Horion to Dorotheus	c. 360	119
3413	Letter from Isaac to Dorotheus	4th cent.	120
3414	Order from NN to Dorotheus	4th cent.	121
3415	Letter from Diogenes to Dorotheus and Papnuthis	4th cent. (376?)	121
3416	Letter from Diogenes to Papnuthis and Dorotheus	4th cent. (c. 376?)	123
3417	Letter from Maximus to Papnuthis and Dorotheus	4th cent.	125
3418	Letter from NN to NN	4th cent.	127
3419	Letter from Sarapammon to Ammonius	4th cent.	127
3420	Letter from Ammonius to Sarapammon	4th cent.	129
3421	Letter from Ammonius to Serapion	4th cent.	133
3422	Letter from Apollonius to Maximus	4th cent.	134
3423	Memoranda	4th cent.	135
3424	Tax Schedule	4th cent. (c. 357 or 372?)	136
3425	List of Foodstuffs	c. 359-65	139
3426	Money Account of Dorotheus to Wine Merchant	4th cent.	140
3427	Money Account	4th cent.	141
3428	Tax List	4th cent.	142
3429	Money Account	4th cent.	144
3430	Letter from Didymus to Theodotus	4th cent.	145

## LIST OF PLATES

I. 3368	V. 3396 front
II. 3369, 3370, 3371	VI. 3396 back, 3408 back
III. 3389	VII. 3397 front
IV. 3387, 3390, 3391	VIII. 3408, 3411

## NUMBERS AND PLATES

3368 I	3391	IV
3369 II	3396 front	V
3370 II	back	VI
3371 II	3397 front	VII
3387 IV	3408 front	VIII
3389 III	back	VI
3390 IV	3411	VIII

## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE method of publication follows that adopted in Part XLV. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of letters lost are printed slightly below the line. The texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the *apparatus criticus*, where also faults of orthography, etc., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [ ] a deletion, the signs ' ' an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. Lastly, heavy arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small roman numerals to columns.

The use of arrows (→, ↓) to indicate the direction of the fibres in relation to the writing has been abandoned for reasons put forward by E. G. Turner, 'The Terms Recto and Verso' (*Actes du XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Papyrologie I: Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 16 (1978) 64-5). In this volume most texts appear to accord with normal practice in being written parallel with the fibres on sheets of papyrus cut from the manufacturer's roll. Any departures from this practice which have been detected are described in the introductions to the relevant items.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: an Introduction* (2nd edn., 1980). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

## NOTE ON INVENTORY NUMBERS

THE inventory numbers in general follow a set pattern, of the form 20 3B.37/D(3)a. Here '20' is the number of the present cardboard box; '3B' refers to Grenfell and Hunt's third campaign at Oxyrhynchus; '37' is the series number given within that year to the metal packing box; 'D' indicates a layer of papyri inside that box. A few inventory numbers have the form A.B.3.2/A(6); these refer to a separate series of boxes.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO PĀPYRI  
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- I 1 *recto* 2-6. Cf. *NTS* 25 (1979) 262-72.  
23-7. A new restoration in *BASP* 16 (1979) 154-7.  
5. Cf. *NTS* 25 (1979) 443-53.  
12. Cf. *Actes du XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Papyrologie* III 78-85.  
47. To be dated in the range AD 83/4-Oct./Nov., AD 88. Cf. *ZPE* 40 (1980) 78-9.  
49. See below on 50.  
50 introd. The editors' statement that 50 is in the same hand as 49 is contradicted in P. Turner 19, 21 n., with addendum.  
72 (= P. M. Meyer, *Jur. Pap.* 66) 7-8. For Μάρκω Πορκίω Επιτυγχάνοντι (= 'Επιτυγχάνοντι) ἀπόντι read Μάρκω Πορκίω 'Επιτυγχάνοντι (= 'Επιτυγχάνοντι) ἀπόντι, 'for Marcus Porcius Epiytynchanon, who is absent'. The verb ἐπιτυγχάνω has no meaning that is relevant here, see *LSJ* s.v. For the name see D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon* s.v.; add XLIV3 1978. J. R. Rea.  
80 (= W. Chr. 473) 11. For Σενοκωλένω read Σενοκώμεως. J. R. Rea (from a photograph of the original, which is at Winchester).  
85. Cf. *ZPE* 39 (1980) 115-23.  
133. The likelier date is 19 October, AD 550. *BASP* 17 (1980) 20-1.  
134 30. For 'Icaroc read 'Ioüroc.  
32. For Isat(u) read Iust(u)—IUSTĪ, pap. J. R. Rea (from a photograph of the original, which is in Cairo).  
135. The likelier date is 21 March, AD 579. *BASP* 17 (1980) 23.  
11-12. For τῆς . . . ὑπερφύεας read τῆ . . . ὑπερφύεα. P. Turner 54. 2-3 n.  
137. The likelier date is 11 January, AD 584. *BASP* 17 (1980) 23.  
140. The likelier date is 26 April, AD 550. *BASP* 17 (1980) 20-21.  
II 266 15. For [ἀ]ζυγήν read [δ]αζυγήν. A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Sel. Pap.* I 7. 15 app. 441 ii 1-5. Identified as an anecdote about the mother of Brasidas, see *ZPE* 36 (1979) 49-50.  
482 5-6. For Σεμελεύ read Σεκελεύ. J. Rowlandson; confirmed by J. R. Rea from a photograph of the original, which is in Chicago.  
495 5. For ἐναντι Πέλα {Πέλα} read ἐν Ἀντιπέλα (= Ἀντιπέρα) Πέλα. *ZPE* 36 (1979) 107.  
IV 659. Cf. *Studi in onore di Anthos Ardizzoni* ii 769-88.  
735 5-7. See *ZPE* 32 (1978) 260-1, which predates the note in XLVII, p. xv and should have prevented its appearance.  
806 (description). Edition in *CE* 52 (1977) 316-18.  
VI 846. See *BASP* 16 (1979) 201-4.  
969 1. For ἀρχεφάδου. μετάπεμψον . . . read ἀρχεφάδου Πέλα. πέμψον . . . *BASP* 16 (1979) 66, n. 16.  
996 (description). Editions in R. Pintaudi, *Miscellanea Papyrologica* (Pap. Flor. VII) 25-30; 67-78.  
1002 1. Καβητ( ) is certain; the proposal in BL I 330 and the entry in WB II 565 s.v. *καληρικός λέβης* are to be cancelled. P. Turner 52. 1 n.  
VII 1037 9-10. For Θῶθ [τῆς παρούσης] [βα]ε[ι]λέας read perhaps Θῶθ [τοῦ εἰδιόντος] [ἔ]τουε *κα.* *BASP* 16 (1979) 233 n. 13.  
1047. The text mentioned in the introduction is published in full in *ZPE* 33 (1979) 237-8.

- VIII 1112. 10. For *Σενεμελε(ύ)* read *Σενεκελεύ*.  
13. For *Σενουκροθ( )* read *Σενουκροθ(εωκ)*. J. Rowlandson; confirmed from a photograph.  
1115. Cf. *Vig. Chr.* 32 (1978) 195-207.
- IX 1174. Cf. *Actes du XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Papyrologie* III 47-52.  
1176. Cf. *GRBS* 20 (1979) 187-200.
- X 1241. Cf. G. Perrotta, *Scritti Minori* ii 89-118.  
v 2 ff. Cf. *ZPE* 35 (1979) 48.  
1318 (description). For *(ἔρουκ) ιαδ και [* read and restore *(ἔρουκ) ιαδ και ες = AD 308/9*.  
The date is 28 November, AD 308. *BASP* 16 (1979) 232.
- XI 1380 109-10. Cf. *JThS* n.s. 29 (1978) 147-51.
- XII 1411 11. On *πλήν μάλαςτα* see *JThS* n.s. 30 (1979) 175-6.  
1440 3. Restore *Κυ[κα]τραμή*. M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* 253, 400. (Cf. XLVII, p. xvi).  
1534. Cf. *Aegyptus* 58 (1978) 157-9.
- XV 1790. Cf. *QUCC* 31, n.s. 2 (1979) 93-9.  
1798 fr. 1. 3-4. Cf. *LGM* 4 (1979) 215-16.  
1802 i 9. Cf. *ZPE* 37 (1980) 198.
- XVI 1899. On the date see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 50 and n. 1.  
1905. Cf. *ZPE* 37 (1980) 185-95.  
1970. The likelier date is 8 June, AD 554. *BASP* 17 (1980) 20.  
1972. The likelier date is 22 July, AD 560. *BASP* 17 (1980) 20.  
1974. The date is AD 538, not 499. R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 123 (under AD 538).  
1979 (description). Read *παρά τῆ ὑμε[τ]ε[ρ]α* e.g. *ὑπερφύεια*. P. Turner 54. 2-3 n.  
1981. The likelier date is 25 October, AD 612. *BASP* 17 (1980) 24.  
16-17. Read perhaps *παγαρχουμ(ἑνης) παρά τοῦ ἡμ(ῶν) [ἐν]δῶξον οἴκου*. *Actes du XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Papyrologie* IV 193 n. 4.  
1986. The likelier date is 29 October, AD 549. *BASP* 17 (1980) 21.  
1997 4. For *γ ὑ[π]ε[ρ] τῆς? τ[ε]ράτης* read and restore *γ ὑ[π]ε[ρ] τῆς τ[ε]ράτης*. *BASP* 17 (1980) 10.
- XXVIII 2185 19. For *[οὐ]α(ακ)* read perhaps *[οὐ]α(ακῆς)*; sc. *γῆς* or *προκόδου*. G. M. Parássoglou, *Imperial Estates* 12 n. 36.
- XIX 2238. The likelier date is 7 August, AD 551. *BASP* 17 (1980) 21.  
2242. Cf. *Aegyptus* 58 (1978) 157-9.
- XXII 2327. Identified as by Simonides. P. Turner 3.  
2347. Cf. *BASP* 15 (1978) 225-6.
- XXIII 2370. Cf. *CQ* n.s. 28 (1978) 396-7.
- XXIV 2399. Cf. *Historia* 26 (1977) 51-9; *ZPE* 39 (1980) 63-71.  
2411 48. For *παρ[εδ]ῶθη* read *παρ[ετ]ῆθη*. D. Hagedorn by letter; confirmed from the original.  
2420 11. Read probably *παρά* with the dative. P. Turner 54. 2-3 n.  
12. For *σα...[* read and restore perhaps *παγαρχου[υ]μένης*. *Actes du XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Papyrologie* IV 194.
- XXV 2430. Identified as by Simonides. P. Turner 3.

- XXVI 2443 fr. 1+3213. Cf. *ZPE* 32 (1978) 36-8.  
2447 fr. 38. Cf. *Studi in onore di Anthon Ardzizoni* i 127-55.
- XXVII 2452. Cf. *Mus. Helv.* 36 (1979) 136-41.  
2455 fr. 107. Cf. *ZPE* 35 (1979) 7-14.  
2464. Cf. *Riv. fil. class.* 105 (1977) 273-84.  
2478 12. For *τῆς . . . ὑπερφύειας* read *τῆ . . . ὑπερφύεια*. P. Turner 54. 2-3 n.  
2479. Cf. *ZPE* 38 (1980) 246-8.
- XXVIII 2483. A false join of fragments is corrected in P. Turner 1. 55-65 n. Lines i 9 and ii 1 cease to exist; therefore i 10 follows directly on i 8.
- XXXI 2579 3. For discussion of the date see *BES* 1 (1979) 12.
- XXXII 2617<sup>1</sup>. Cf. *AzR* 23 (1978) 83-7; 24 (1979) 41-3.  
2619 <sup>11910+20+31</sup>. Cf. *ZPE* 38 (1980) 65-71.  
2623. Identified as by Simonides. P. Turner 3.  
<sup>2101+22</sup>. Cf. *Dionysiaca. Nine Studies in Greek Poetry Presented to Sir Denis Page* 1-20.
- XXXIII 2673 22. For *χαλκῆν ἔλην* (corr. from *πόλην* in *ZPE* 35 (1979) 128), cf. now P. Col. VII 141. 23-33, which constitute a receipt for three amounts in pounds and ounces of *χαλκῆς χυτῆς ἔλης*. The editor translated this as 'poured copper material', which became 'cast bronze' in the introduction, p. 52, in the table on p. 53, and in the note on 26-7. It might have been either copper or bronze, i.e. copper alloyed with tin, but not both. The wording indicates that it was cast copper which needed further refining: *χαλκῆς χυτῆς ἔλης, μὴ δοθείσης ὑφ' ἡμῶν τῆς ἀνακαθάρσεως ἕως ὅτου περὶ τούτου κελευσθῆ* (27-8). The translation runs, 'of poured copper material not given by you for the cleansing at the time when it was ordered'. The genitive absolute clause seems rather to mean, 'no contribution for refining being made by you until orders concerning this matter are issued'.
- XXXV 2737. Cf. *Rhein. Mus.* n.f. 121 (1978) 19-34.  
<sup>1</sup> ii. Cf. *ZPE* 38 (1980) 59-63.  
2740. Cf. *Archiv* 27 (1980) 37-47.  
2744. Cf. *ZPE* 33 (1979) 9-12; 36 (1979) 55-6.  
2746. Cf. B. Gentili, *Theatrical Performances in the Ancient World* 61-87; *MPhL* 3 (1978) 139-41.
- XXXVI 2780 5. For the indication number β read α. The date 16 July, AD 553 is correct. *BASP* 17 (1980) 21.
- XXXVII 2806. Cf. *ZPE* 35 (1979) 1-5.  
2819 5-9. Cf. *ZPE* 36 (1979) 63-4.
- XXXVIII 2825 fr. B col. ii. *Actes du XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Papyrologie* III 58-68.  
2826 21-6. Cf. *Riv. fil. class.* 106 (1978) 396-7.
- XXXIX 2890. Cf. *Aegyptus* 59 (1979) 91-6; *ZPE* 33 (1979) 47-56.
- XLI 2946. Cf. *ZPE* 33 (1979) 57-74.  
2972 3. The sellers appear again as taxpayers in XLIV 3163. J. E. G. Whitehorne, by letter.
- XLII 3010. Cf. *CP* 72 (1977) 22-31.  
3051 7. For *Σενεκ[ι]ωνῆς* read *Σενεκανῆς*. G. M. Parássoglou, *Imperial Estates* 13 n. 45. Cf. XLV p. xviii.
- XLIII 3097. Cf. *BASP* 16 (1979) 209-10.  
3111 introd. p. 55, penult. para. Delete 'up the Nile'; the boat may more probably have travelled along the Tomis river. M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* 143.



- XLIV 3160. Cf. R. Pintaudi, *Miscellanea Papyrologica* 273-9.  
 3163 6. For Διω( ) read Διω(υόου). Mnesitheus (-cs) and Dionysius, sons of Theon, are the sellers in XLI 2972 3. J. E. G. Whitehorne, by letter.  
 3204 3. For τοῦ ἀντ[ιστ]ῆ ἡμῶν read and restore τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐε[β]ε[κ]ε[τάτου]—εὐε[β]ε[β] pap.—ἡμῶν. *BASP* 17 (1980) 10. Cf. XLVII, p. xix.
- XLV 3214 10-14. Cf. *ZPE* 37 (1980) 169-72.  
 3239 37. For ξείνη read ξ[ι]ν[ι]λίη. *CE* 54 (1979) 159.  
 3253 17. On μάλιστα see *JThS* n.s. 30 (1979) 176.
- XLVI 3285 9-10; 22-3. Cf. *BASP* 17 (1980) 61-2.  
 3286. This is perhaps the earliest document which shows that the gymnasiarchy had become compulsory. *CR* n.s. 30 (1980) 316.  
 3296. Cf. *CR* n.s. 30 (1980) 316-17.  
 3302 6. On μάλιστα see *JThS* n.s. 30 (1979) 176.  
 3304 5. Supply perhaps γενόμενος before ἐκτάτης. *CR* n.s. 30 (1980) 317.  
 3311 5 n. On ἀσπαστικός see now *Jahrb. für Antike u. Christentum* 20 (1977) 72-89, esp. 85-6 and 89, 'an urban category of monks'.
- XLVII 3319. Cf. *ZPE* 42 (1981) 63-6.
- XLVIII 3406 8 n. If οκτωπλεθον (acc.) is correctly recognized as representing ὀκτώπλεθον, it is possible that P. Strassb. I 66 is a receipt for a brick tax. Payment is made ὑπὲρ ἀσπαστικού πλεθον (7-8) to μεθιωτα πλεθου νομοῦ, cf. S. L. Wallace, *Taxation* 281, 310. An unidentified hand has annotated the margin of the Ashmolean copy of P. Strassb. I with ' = πλεθου? ' J. R. Rea.
- P. Oxy. Hels. 1.<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ZPE* 37 (1980) 156-7.  
 23. 24-5. Read ἐλογησθη[μένη]. D. Hagedorn, by letter; confirmed from the original.
- P. Ant. I 42. The date is discussed in *BASP* 16 (1979) 225-6 and the document is assigned to 26 September, AD 557.
- P. Fay. 37. 2. For Β[ακχ]ῖδος read perhaps β[ου]κόλος. *ZPE* 33 (1979) 211-12.  
 60. 5. For μεθ(ωτήε?) read μεθ(ώσεως). G. M. Parássoglou, *Imperial Estates* 12 n. 36.  
 82. 14-15. For Ἀδριανῆ[ε] and μεθ( ) read Λουριανῆ[ε] and μεθ(ώσεως). G. M. Parássoglou, *Imperial Estates* 12 n. 36.  
 111. 22-4. Read perhaps [καί] τὰς ἐν εἰς [τῆ]ν Σέν[θεω]ν ἐργάτην χρῆθ[ον] (sic; for χλωρόν) λιμνάζειν. *ZPE* 40 (1980) 87.  
 359 (description). Edition in *BASP* 16 (1979) 138.  
 362 (description). Edition in *BASP* 16 (1979) 132.  
 364 (description). Edition in *BASP* 16 (1979) 135.  
 365 (description). Edition in *BASP* 16 (1979) 133.  
 366 (description). Edition in *BASP* 16 (1979) 132.
- P. Tebt. I 131 (description). Edition and plate in *ZPE* 41 (1981) 263-9, Taf. XVI.  
 II 385. 2 For Παθ[ν] read Παρθ[υ]κοῦ. *ZPE* 40 (1980) 132.  
 450 (description). Edition in *BASP* 15 (1978) 207-12.  
 584 (description). Edition in *BASP* 15 (1978) 212-16.  
 609 (f). After Προλεμαίου read [Κ]ρ[ο]ν[ι]ου. G. M. Parássoglou, *Imperial Estates* 12 n. 36.  
 III. 1 703. Cf. *Archiv* 27 (1980) 67-77.

<sup>1</sup> P. Oxy. Hels. was not published by the Egypt Exploration Society, but since the papyri edited in it belong to the Oxyrhynchus series it has been decided to include references to the volume in this section.

## I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

3368-3371. MENANDER, *Μισούμενος*

Three of these four texts are identifiable with certainty as parts of Menander, *Misoumenos*, and 3371 probably is a book-title of this play, not another (see 3371 1 n.). Taken together they offer a firm foundation for the first hundred verses of the play. A minimal transcription, commentary, and elucidation of two of them (3368, 3369) has already been published in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 63 (1978) 315-31. The present publication fulfils the promise there made to give fuller details. It offers a separate palaeographic account and diplomatic transcript of each of the new texts, including two (3370, 3371) previously only alluded to briefly. A new transcript of PIFA0 inv. 89 based on the photographs is attempted. Plates are given of the four new papyri. An articulated version based on the combined evidence of the papyri and the quoted fragments is attempted, with a commentary on a more generous scale than was possible in *Proc. BA* loc. cit. Publication numbers supersede the sigla employed there:

3368 = O19  
 3369 = O20  
 3370 = O21  
 3371 = O22.

As there, the verse numbers have been prefixed by A, and these numbers have been added for convenience also in the diplomatic transcripts.

This edition has benefited from study at a seminar held in the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London in autumn 1977, and from individual criticisms and suggestions, especially from my fellow editors. Where it differs from the provisional text, this edition should be considered to embody my second thoughts. Scholars frequently cited by initial are tabulated below.

C.A. = Colin Austin	H.L.L.-J. = H. Lloyd-Jones
W.S.B. = W. S. Barrett	P.J.P. = P. J. Parsons
W.E.H.C. = W. E. H. Cockle	J.R.R. = J. R. Rea
A.H.G. = A. H. Griffiths	F.H.S. = F. H. Sandbach
E.W.H. = E. W. Handley	M.L.W. = M. L. West

I should like to repeat the warning that where square brackets are shown in the diplomatic transcript without intervening dot, thus [], the intention is to show a tear, hole, or stripped surface where no writing need have been lost.

[The publication in *Proc. B.A.* has now been reviewed by P. G. McC. Brown in *CR* n.s. 30 (1980) 3-6. I comment on some of the points there raised in *CdE* 54 (1979) 1-26.]

## III. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

## 3384-3429. THE ARCHIVE OF PAPNUTHIS AND DOROTHEUS

The following group of papyri once belonged to the papers of two brothers named Papnuthis and Dorotheus, the sons of Aphynchis and Maria.<sup>1</sup> From one contract (3389), one receipt (3395), and two petitions (3393-4) we know that they belonged to the class of Aurelii, though that name is always omitted in the numerous letters and orders addressed to them. They were residents of the nome capital, where their father Aphynchis had owned some property (3384),<sup>2</sup> but their employment as collectors of taxes and managers of estates required that some portion of their time also be spent in the countryside. Both the brothers wrote fluently, though with a striking disregard for rules of spelling and grammar, and their mother may also have known how to read and write, as the one letter that we have in her name appears to be autograph (3403). Their father Aphynchis, on the other hand, required a signatory to sign a contract for him (3386).

The earliest dated text in the archive was written in AD 331 (3384), the latest in 371 (3395), but there are grounds for placing the undated 3415 in AD 376 (see introd. there), and some documents may be still later than that. The earliest text mentioning either brother is 3388, from late in AD 342. At that time Papnuthis was already serving as farm caretaker for one Sarapammon, by whom he was instructed to deliver seed grain to a tenant. The next year he acted as signatory for a woman who wished to appoint Aphynchis to represent her in some business before the *praeses Augustamnicae* (3389, the latest text in which Aphynchis is known to have been alive).<sup>3</sup> His hand was then of professional quality.

There follows a period of fifteen years in which we have no datable papyrus from the archive. Some of the correspondence and lists may belong to this time, but we have no way of knowing. By AD 358, however, Papnuthis was in public or semi-public service: a group of notaries who address him as 'brother' order him to disburse some money to a confectioner on the staff of the strategus (3390). He had, then, a position of some financial responsibility, but it is hard to say whether he was directly employed by the notaries, the strategus, the city council, or someone else.

<sup>1</sup> Papnuthis' name is inflected with -ov in the genitive and -ου in the dative, but the nominative is always Παπνουθῆς (3394 20, 3395 5, 3398 2, 3399 2, 3402 2) or Παπνουθίς (3389 20, 3397 2, 3400 1). I presume that his father's name was declined in the same way, though the nominative ending only appears once (Ἀφὺνχις, 3384 3).

<sup>2</sup> He may have given up possession of this house later, as he appears as a tenant in 3386. Dorotheus and Papnuthis claim to be wholly without property in 3393 13-14.

<sup>3</sup> It would be unsafe to draw chronological conclusions from the fact that Aphynchis had himself used a different signatory, not one of his sons, in AD 338 (3386): it might be that they were both still too young then, but they might also have been away on business or unavailable for some other reason.

A year and a half later, in AD 360, Papnuthis was serving as assistant, βοηθός, to a *praepositus pagi* named Horion (3391). A few months later Dorotheus comes into our records for the first time, as assistant for the same *praepositus* (3392), and so far as one can tell the two brothers continued to work together under changing employers to the end of our documentation. By AD 365 they were in the service of Eulogius, possibly another *praepositus pagi*, whose ill-treatment of them is the subject of 3393. The third employer that we know of was one Diogenes, whose position is uncertain, but who could well also have been a *praepositus* (3415-16). Diogenes is probably the latest of these three employers: AD 376 is a likely *floruit* (3415 introd.).<sup>1</sup>

As βοηθοί, Papnuthis and Dorotheus were expected to perform such routine tasks as disbursing money and foodstuffs to other members of the staffs of the *praepositus* and his superiors (3391, 3405, 3414; cf. 3425), but the duty which most occupies their correspondence was the collection of taxes, both in money and in kind. They were evidently responsible for collecting all the dues from a given geographic area: we hear of Terythis (3393), Berky (3400), Psobthis (3408), Satyru (3408, 3410, 3423), Tampemu (3409-10, 3423), and, as if it were no more than an Oxyrhynchite village, the Cynopolite nome (3423 12 with n., 3410). We do not know whether the brothers were responsible for all these places at the same time, but that seems to be the case for the last four at least.

A remarkable practice which emerges from the correspondence printed here is the custom Dorotheus and Papnuthis followed in paying out of their own funds and in advance taxes that were due from the villages under them, sometimes even borrowing money in order to do this (3397 introd.). They expected to recover these advances from the villagers themselves, either directly or through the comarchs. The tone of 3393 suggests that this expectation would normally be met (cf. 3396 introd.). They had, indeed, very considerable support: armed guards who stood at their disposal are mentioned frequently in the archive (cf. 3399, 3402, 3408-9, 3416, 3419), use of soldiers is considered in 3400, and the prison in the nome capital could apparently be used without the time-consuming preliminaries of a trial (cf. e.g. 3397 and 3409). At the same time, there was an effort to be fair (3417, 3420), and it is only natural if we hear more often of instances of injustice than of the times when all went smoothly.

It is a curious fact that many of the taxes which rested on the peasantry in fourth-century Egypt could not in practice very well have been paid by peasants. The average peasant is not likely to have owned gold or uncoined silver for the levies made of these metals and the taxes paid in them, nor usually to have been in a position to buy for himself the small amounts of them which were due on a few aruras of land. Instead, even for such taxes as *χρυσός τριώνων*, the peasant might pay small change which would then be used by the collector to purchase the solidi that had to be turned over to the government (3424 9 n., 3401). This was part of Papnuthis' and Dorotheus' job:

<sup>1</sup> It is also possible that one Chaeremon employed Dorotheus, if not both brothers, but this is by no means sure; see 3408 introd. None of the texts which mention Chaeremon can be dated closely.

they functioned not only as tax collectors, but as business mediators between the state and the peasant.<sup>1</sup> There were apparently ample opportunities for profit, and the task of collecting taxes from an entire village, though it must have been arduous, was clearly coveted (cf. e.g. 3393).

Papnuthis, Dorotheus, and most of their correspondents write vigorous, expressive Greek letters which are of no less interest for the language than for the history of the period. Papnuthis takes the only important business trip mentioned (3396) and is the most frequently mentioned figure of the archive, so he may have been older than Dorotheus.

So far as the religion of any persons in these papers can be determined, they are without exception Christians (3396-7, 3407, 3417, 3418 (?), 3421).

The papyri published here were discovered by Grenfell and Hunt in the course of their fifth excavation season at Behnesa, in 1905/6. A few pieces that have already been published elsewhere belong with some probability to the same group, though the names Papnuthis and Dorotheus are so common that it is not safe to rely on them for identifications. Nonetheless, P. Osl. III 162 has every appearance of being part of the archive. P. Osl. III 88 was probably written by the Chaeremon of 3408-10 (the end of 37 can be read  $\pi(\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}) \chi\alpha\iota[\rho\acute{\eta}\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma]$ , but the recipient is apparently not Dorotheus or Papnuthis: the editors'  $E[\psi\delta\acute{\alpha}\rho[\omega]]$  remains the likeliest reading. SB V 7756 is a tax receipt signed by a *praepositus* Eulogius, who may be the Eulogius of 3393 and some other texts of the collection cited there. XII 1588 is too early to be part of the archive.

I have placed the dated texts first in chronological order, whatever their nature, followed by correspondence and lists; I have further included a very few other contemporary texts from the same milieu, when they tended to cast light on questions raised by the archive proper. It is likely that all the undated items fall roughly between AD 345 and 380, and most of them between 360 and 375.

In addition to the usual abbreviations, the following shortened references have been used:

Gignac, *Phonology*. F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*. Vol. i, *Phonology*. Milan, 1976.

Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt*. A. C. Johnson and L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies*. Princeton, 1949.

Karayannopoulos, *Finanzwesen*. J. Karayannopoulos, *Das Finanzwesen des frühbyzantinischen Staates*. Munich, 1958.

Lallemand, *L'Administration civile*. J. Lallemand, *L'Administration civile de l'Égypte de l'avènement de Dioclétien à la création du diocèse (284-382)*. Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe de Lettres, LVII, 2. Brussels, 1964.

<sup>1</sup> The problem of seeing that each peasant paid his share toward the contribution of clothing, mules, and the like was similar and was no doubt similarly handled. This is perhaps not quite the 'clubbing together' of the humbler taxpayers that A. H. M. Jones speaks of (*LRE* i 65), but the end effect would have been very much the same.

Mandilaras, *The Verb*. B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri*. Athens, 1973.

## 3384. LEASE OF A HOUSE

44 5B.63/(50-53)a

10 × 11 cm

14 April 331

Aurelius Aphynchis leases a house to Aurelia Maria for a period of three years at a rent the amount of which is lost. The mother of Dorotheus and Papnuthis was also named Maria, so it is possible that Aphynchis later married his one-time lessee, but the name was very common in Christian Egypt and there are no other grounds for supposing an identification. Seven years later Aphynchis himself appears as the lessee of half a house in a different quarter of the city (3386). The basic study of comparable documents remains A. Berger, 'Wohnungsmiete und Verwandtes in den gräko-ägyptischen Papyri', *Zeitschr. f. vgl. Rechtswissenschaft* 29 (1913) 321-415; see further H. Braunert, *Festschrift Oertel* 34-46 and P. Yale 69 introd.

The back contains a few letters written across the fibres: .*απειος*.

ὑπατείας Ἰουνίου Βάσσου καὶ Φλαυίου  
 Ἀβλαβίου τῶν λαμ(προτάτων) ἐπαρχῶν, Φαρμουθὶ ιθ.  
 ἐμίεθωσεν Αὐρήλιος Ἀφύγκης Ὀρου ἀπὸ τῆς  
 λαμ(πράς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως Αὐρηλία  
 5 Μαρίας Παθερμουτίου μη(τρὸς) Ἀττίας ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς  
 πόλεως ἐπὶ χρόνον ἔτη τρία ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄν-  
 τοσ μνηδὸς Φαρμουθὶ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους  
 κε ιε ζ' τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ  
 πόλει ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Μυροβαλάνου δλόκλη-  
 10 ρον οἰκίαν καὶ ξέθριον καὶ αὐλήν καὶ κατὰ-  
 κιον {καὶ} σὺν χρηστηρίων καὶ ἀνηκόντων  
 πάντων καὶ τελέων ὑπὲρ ἐνοικίου κατὰ μῆ-  
 να ἕκαστον ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μνηδὸς Φαρμουθὶ  
 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους κε ιε ζ' ἀ[ργυ]ρίου  
 15 ]..[

1 ὑπατείας, φλαυίου 3 αφυγκης; c corrected from ν 4 οξυρυγχιτων 5 μητ' ατ'τίας  
 10 ι. αἰθριον, κατάγειον 12 ι. τελέων

<sup>1</sup>The consulship of Iunius Bassus and Flavius Ablabius the prefects, *viri clarissimi*, Pharmuthi 19. Aurelius Aphynchis, son of Horus, from the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, has leased to Aurelia Maria, daughter of Pathermutius and Attia, from the same city, for a period of three years from the present month Pharmuthi of the current year 25, 15, 7 the whole house, court-yard, side-court, and cellar which belong to him in the same city in the Myrobalanus Quarter, together with

all appurtenances and belongings; and she shall pay for rent each month from the present month Pharmuthi of the current year 25, 15, 7 . . . in silver . . .'

1 For 'Ιουλίου as against 'Ιουλίου in *WB* and Degraffi's *Fastii consolari* see XLIV 3195 1 n. The Cologne papyrus there referred to has since been published in *ZPE* 10 (1973) 139 ff.; add P. Strasb. 149 as corrected in BL V p. 133. The restoration in P. Lugd.-Bat. II 9(b), 9 should be changed accordingly.

8 and 14 Year 25 of Constantine I, 15 of Constantine II, and 7 of Constantius was AD 330/1. See XIV 1632 9 n.; cf. 3385 4 n.

10 ἔθριον: see P. Chantraine, 'Grec αἶθριον', in *Recherches de Papyrologie* 3 (1964) 7-15.

11 The ν of *χρηστηρίων* is badly blotted. For σύν with the genitive cf. E. Maysner, *Grammatik* II, 2, p. 367; *LSJ* s.v., P. Col. VII 166. 8-10 n.

## 3385. ORDER TO DELIVER WINE

44 5B.60/C(12-13)a

23 × 10 cm

9 November 336

An order in standard form to deliver three ceramia of wine to one Aphynchius, who may or may not be the father of Papnuthis and Dorotheus. Similar texts in this volume are 3387 and 3388.

The writing runs across the fibres and the back is blank.

π(αρά) Ἀμμωνίωνος Σαραπά χ(αίρειν).

παράσχεις Ἀφνυχίῳ ὄν τὴν τιμὴν ἐλογισάμην αὐτῷ οἴνου κεράμια

τρία. ἔρρωσθαί σε εὖχομαι.

(ἔτους) λαζ κας υγς δς βς, Ἀθῆρ υγ'.

'From Ammonion to Sarapas, greeting. Supply Aphynchius with three ceramia of wine, the price of which I have charged to him. I pray for your health. Year 31, 21, 13, 4, 2, Hathyr 13.'

4 The regnal years are those of Constantine I, Constantine II, Constantius, Constans, and Dalmatius. The same years are found in I 92 4 as corrected by A. Chastagnol, 'La datation par années régionales égyptiennes à l'époque constantinienne' in *Aidon* (*Caesarodunum X bis*, Paris, 1976) 221-37 at p. 237 n. 3; *Talanta* 8-9 (1977) 104; and presumably SB VI 9191 = 9270, which has been thought to leave either the reign of Constantine I or that of Constantine II out of account, but which much more probably follows the pattern of the other texts with λαζ καὶ ] κας καὶ υγ' καὶ δ' καὶ βς in l. 9 (the original has been inspected by Dr Coles). The most recent study of such dates is in R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (Zutphen, 1978 = *Studia Amstelodamensia* VIII) 36-40; cf. the same authors' *Regnal Formulas in Byzantine Egypt* (*BASP* Suppl. 2; 1979), 41.

## 3386. LEASE OF HALF A HOUSE

44 5B.63/(30-32)a

13.5 × 25.5 cm

28 March 338

Aurelius Aphynchis leases for two years, at a rent of twenty talents per year, half a house which is owned in common by four persons whom I have not been able to identify elsewhere, though they clearly belong to the most prestigious classes of Oxyrhynchus. Cf. 3384.

The back is blank.

ὑπατεία[ε] Φλ[αο]νίων Οὔρρον καὶ Πολεμίου  
τῶν λαμπροτάτων.

Φλ[αο]νίους Ἀφθονίου Φλαβιανοῦ γυμ(νασιαρχ ) βουλ(ετη)

κα[ὶ] Ἄσυ[γκριθίῳ] θυγ(ατρί) Ἀχιλλέως γενομένου  
5 διασημοτάτω καὶ Ἀμμ[ωνίῳ] καὶ Ἑλλαδίῳ υἱοῖς  
Ἀμμωνίου γενομένου βο[υ]λ[ε]υ(του) τῆς λαμπροτάτης  
Ἀλεξανδρίας

παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀφνυχίου ὠρου ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πράς)  
καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὀξυρυχιτῶν πόλεως. ἐκουσίως

10 ἐπιδέχομαι μισθώσασθαι ἐπὶ χρόνον ἔτη  
δύο ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος μηνός Φαρμουθι

τοῦ ἐνακτωτός λβς' κβ) ιδς ες" τὸ ὑπάρχον  
ὑμῖν καθ' ὃ ἐ[κα]στος ἔχει μέρος ἐν τῇ

αὐτῇ Ὀξυρυχιτῶν πόλει ἐπ' ἀμφοδου

15 [N]εμεσίῳ ὑπὸ [τ]ῆν ἀπηλωτικῆν τῆς  
πόλεως [ε]τοά<ν> ε. . . . ληρ( ) ἡμῖν μέρος οἰκία[ε]  
καὶ καταγίου ἐν [χρ]ῆ[ε]τηρίοις πᾶσι, ἐνοικίου  
κατ' ἔτος ἀργυρί[ου] ταλά[ντων] (m. 2) εἰκοσι,

(γίνεται) (τάλαντα) κ μόνα, (m. 1) βεβαιουμένη[ε]

20 δ' ἐμοὶ τῆς ἐπιδοχῆς ἐπάναγκας ἀποδώσω  
τὸ ἐνοικιον κατ' ἔτος ἀκυλάντως καὶ μετὰ

τὸν χρόνον παραδώσω τὸ ἡμῖν μέρος τῆς

οἰκίας ἀπὸ κ[ο]πρίων καὶ δίτης πάσης καὶ

ἄε ἐὰν παραλάβω θύρας καὶ κλεῖς {ἀποτίσω}

25 ἢ οὐ ἐὰν μὴ παραδῶ ἐκ[τ]ίς τὴν ἀξίαν τιμῆ<ν>.

κυρία ἢ ἐπιδοχῆ καὶ ἐπ[ε]ρωτηθ(εῖς) ἀμολόγησα.

ὑπατείας τῆς προ[ο]κ(εμένης), Φαρμουθι β'.

(m. 3) Αὐρηλῖος Ἀφνυχ[ε]ς μεμίθσωμαι τὸ ἡμῖν

[μ]έρος τῆς οἰκία[ε] καὶ ἀ[πο]δώσω τὸ ἐνοικιον

ὡς πρόκειται. Αὐρηλῖος Σαραπάμμιων ἔγραψα

30 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματα μὴ εἰδότος.

1 ὑπα- 4 φ in Ἄσυ[γκριθίῳ] corr. from η 5 l. διασημοτάτου 8 αφνυχίου; and  
υ corrected from ε 9 οξυρυχιτων 12 l. ἐνακτωτός; ὑπαρχῶ 13 ὑμῖν; 1. ἔχει  
20 l. ἐπάναγκες 21 l. ἀκυλάντως 23 l. δέισης 28 l. ἡμῖν 29 l. οἰκίας

'The consulship of Flavius Ursus and Flavius Polemius, *viri clarissimi*. To Flavius Aphthonius, son of Flavianus, (former?) gymnasiarch, councillor; and Flavia Asyncriithion, daughter of Achilles,

erstwhile holder of the perfectissimate; and Flavius Ammonion and Flavius Helladius, sons of Ammonius, late councillor of the most glorious Alexandria; from Aurelius Aphynchis, son of Horus, from the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites. I willingly undertake to lease for a period of two years from the present month Pharmuthi of the current year 32, 22, 14, 5 the half of a house and cellar which belong to you in the same city of the Oxyrhynchites in the Nemesium Quarter under the East Stoa according to the share which each owns . . . , together with all appurtenances, for the annual rent of (2nd hand) twenty (1st hand) silver talents, (2nd hand) total 20 talents only, (1st hand) and if this undertaking is secured to me I shall of necessity deliver the rent each year in full, and after the period I shall turn over the half house free of dirt and all filth, as well as such doors and keys as I have received, or, if I fail to turn them over, I shall pay their fair value. The undertaking is valid and when asked the formal question I so replied. Pharmuthi 2 of the consulship stated above. (3rd hand) I, Aurelius Aphynchis, have leased the half house and I shall pay the rent as stated. I, Aurelius Sarapammon, have written for him, as he is illiterate.<sup>3</sup>

3 Both *γυμ(νασιάρχω)* and *γυμ(νασιαρχήαντι)* are possible; cf. XIV 1662 2 and XVII 2137 3-4.

4-5 *γενομένου διασημοτάτω* (l. -ov): the meaning appears to be that Achilles had before his death held all the municipal *ἀρχαί* at Oxyrhynchus and thereby earned the rank of *vir perfectissimus*. See XLVI 3297 1 n.

12 Possibly the strokes after one or more of the regnal years should be interpreted as (*ἔτος*), but as they do not appear to differ from the strokes used simply to mark numerals elsewhere in the archive, and *ἔτος* was omitted in XIV 1632 9, it may be that the word was felt to be superfluous in this context. Year 32 of Constantine I, 22 of Constantine II, 14 of Constantius, and 5 of Constans was AD 337/8. In P. Collect. Youtie II 82 = XLV 3266 11 (13 August 337), when this year still lay in the future, the dating formula added the prospective year 3 of the younger Dalmatius. That has been dropped here, so his death was (not surprisingly) known in Oxyrhynchus by this time.

15-16 The Eastern Stoa of Oxyrhynchus was already known from XVII 2109 9-10, 30-1, and PUG 22. 10-11. The city also had a Southern Stoa, XVI 1966 13; cf. *τὴν σπῶν* without further designation in P. Mert. II 76. 14. The following traces are not simply *ὁ δολοκλήρον* (the phrase *δολοκλήρον ἡμεῖς μέρως* is attested; cf. PSI VI 707. 8-9). Neither *ἔσθ* (or *ἔστ*) *δολοκλήρον* nor *δικ(αίω)* *κληρο(νομηκῶ)* seems satisfactory.

18-19 The original rent, no longer legible but occupying about twice as much space as the present text, was washed out and replaced with 20 talents.

30 The hand of Aurelius Sarapammon here is probably not that of 3387-8.

### 3387. ORDER FROM SARAPAMMON TO PAMUTAIS

44 5B.63/(68-69)a

17 × 9.5 cm

9 May 342

One Pamutais, otherwise unknown, is to send wine to Tampemu for Sarapammon and his household. It is likely that Papnuthis, as *προνοητής* for Sarapammon (3388), was Pamutais' superior, so he may have acquired this chit in controlling the latter's records.

The writing runs across the fibres and the back is blank.

π(αρά) *Σαραπάμμωνος Παμουταί ἄμ(πελουργῶ) χ(αίρω)*.  
*παράσχε* εἰς ἡμετέραν ὑπηρεσίαν διὰ Ἀπφοῦτος  
*φερόμενόν μοι εἰς Ταμπεμιόν οἶνον σπάθιον ἔν,*  
*(γίνεται) οἶ(νον) σ(πάθ)ι(ον) α μόν(ον). ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχόμαι.*

5

(ἔτους) λξς" ης" ἑνατον, Παχῶν ιδ".

4 /o+e<sup>o</sup>

5 l. ἐνάτου

'From Sarapammon to Pamutais, vine-worker, greeting. Furnish for our supplies, through Apphus, one spathion of wine to be brought to Tampemu for me, total 1 spathion of wine only. I pray for your health. Year 36, 18, 9, Pachon 14.'

1 The name *Παμουταίς* is not found in the *Namenbuch* or *Onomasticon*.

5 (*ἔτους*) λξς" ης" ἑνατον: a good example of the avoidance of the numeral θ in dating clauses: see A. U. Stylow and J. D. Thomas in *Chiron* 10 (1980) 537-51. I have expanded the year symbol in the genitive as usual and assumed that *ἑνατον* is error for *ἐνάτου*, but it may be rather that *ἑνατον* is correct and the whole date is a detached nominative. The regnal years are those of Constantine I, Constantius, and Constans, of whom only the last two were alive at the time of this document. For the type of dating see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, 36-40.

### 3388. ORDER FROM SARAPAMMON TO PAPNUTHIS

44 5B.63/(9-12)a

20 × 8 cm

27 November-26 December 342

An order to provide a tenant with seed corn, written in the same hand as 3387.

The writing runs across the fibres and the back is blank.

π(αρά) *Σαραπάμμωνος Παπνουτίω προνοητῆ χ(αίρω)*.  
*παράσχε* Ἡλία γεωργῶ εἰς κατασπορὰν τίτου μέτρῳ [ἀρτά-]  
 3 *βας πέντε, (γίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ε μόν(υαι). ὁ αὐτὸς Σαραπάμμων*  
 [σεσημείωμαι].

4

(ἔτους) λξς' ιθ' ι', Χοί[ακ

'From Sarapammon to Papnuthis, caretaker, greeting. Supply the cultivator Elias for sowing with five artabas of wheat by the . . . measure, = 5 art. wheat only. I, the same Sarapammon, have signed. Year 37, 19, 10, Choiak . . .'

3 For this way of signing an order cf. e.g. VII 1057 4, XLV 3262 7. PSI VII 784. 4 shows that the verb should be expanded in the first person just as in signatures without *αὐτός*.

4 The reigns are the same as in 3387 5.

### 3389. APPOINTMENT OF A REPRESENTATIVE

44 5B.63/(58-59)a

12 × 24 cm

14 March 343

One Aurelia Apia authorizes Aphynchis to represent her in a legal case of unspecified nature before the *praeses Augustamnicae* Flavius Olympius. Aphynchis' son Papnuthis signs for the illiterate Apia in a hand of professional quality, but with the disregard of spelling and grammar that is typical of his other known productions. In form the document is comparable to that cited in P. Lips. 38 i 4-6 (= *MChr* 97 and Meyer, *Jur. Pap.* 91); cf. L. Wenger, *Die Stellvertretung im Rechte der Papyri* (Leipzig, 1906; reprint Aalen, 1966) 122-56. The case itself has left no further reflection in the archive that I can detect.

The back is blank, except for stray ink.

G

ὑπατείας Φρουρίου Πλακίδου τοῦ λαμπρο-  
τάτου ἐπάρχου ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ  
Φλαοῦνι Ῥωμύλλου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου,  
Φαμενώθ ιη—

- 5 Ἀὐρηλία Ἀπία καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει ἀπὸ  
τῆς Ὁξυρρυγχιτῶν πόλεως Ἀὐρηλίῳ  
Ἄφνυγχίῳ ὄρου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πό-  
λεως χαίρειν. ἐντέλλομαι σοὶ καὶ ἐπι-  
τρέπω κατὰ τῶδε μου τὸ ἐντολικὸν  
10 τὴν ἐντυχία[ν] ποιήσασθαι ἐξ ὀνόμα-  
τός μου παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ μου τῷ δια-  
σημοτάτῳ ἡγεμόνι Φλαυίῳ  
Ὀλυμπίῳ καὶ τὰ προσόντα μοι  
δίκα ἀπαρθέσθαι ὡς κάμοι παρού-  
15 ση ἕξεσται. / κυρία ἡ ἐντολὴ ἀπλή  
γραφεῖσα ἦν καὶ ἐξεδόμην σοὶ καὶ ἐπε-  
ρωτηθεῖσα ὠμολόγησα.
- (m. 2) Ἀὐρηλία Ἀπία πεποίημαι τὴν ἐντολὴν  
ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῶν προκλιμένων καὶ ἐπερωτητικῶν  
20 ὠμολόγησα. Ἀὐρηλίῳ Παπνοῦτι  
Ἄφνυγχίῳ ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ ἀύτης γράμματα μὴ εἶ-  
δότος.

19 l. πᾶσι, ἐπερωτηθεῖσα 20 l. ὠμολόγησα 21-2 l. εἰδύλας

'Consulship of Frurius [sic] Placidus, *vir clarissimus, praefectus sacro praetorio*, and of Flavius Romulus, *vir clarissimus*, Phamenoth 18. Aurelia Apia and however she is styled from the city of the Oxyrhynchites to Aurelius Aphynchis, son of Horus, from the same city, greeting. I instruct and empower you according to this note of authorization to lay a petition in my name before my lord the *praeses* Flavius Olympius, *vir perfectissimus*, and to present my claims just as is permitted to me in person. The authorization, written in a single copy which I have turned over to you, is valid, and in reply to the formal question I so declared. (2nd hand) I, Aurelia Apia, have made the authorization according to all the above terms and in reply to the formal question I so declared. I, Aurelius Papnuthis, son of Aphynchis, wrote on her behalf, as she is illiterate.'

1 *Φρουρίου*: cf. P. Abinn. 46.9 ὑπατεία]ς Φρουρίῳ Πλακίδου κτλ. Numerous other sources, however, agree that the name was *Furius* rather than *Frurius*: see *PLRE* I p. 705 and add the references given there *ZPE* 8 (1971) 222, text b, l. 5 and 223, c, l. 2. A further new papyrus (*ibid.*, text d, l. 3) omits the name, and *ZPE* 20 (1976) 158 l. 15 is damaged at the relevant point.

5 *Ἀπία*: here one might hesitate between *Ἀπία* and *Ἀρτία*, but only *Ἀπία* can be read in l. 18.

12-13 Fl. Olympius is no. 2 in the list of *praesides Augustammicae* drawn up by J. Lallemand in *L'Administration civile*, citing SB VI 9622 from 6 April 343.

## 3390. ORDER FROM PATAS AND ASSOCIATES TO PARNUTHIS

44 5B.63/(50-53)b

11 × 9 cm

14 July 358

A group of *νομοκοί*, or perhaps *νομικάριοι*, instruct Papnuthis in remarkably bad Greek to pay ninety myriads of denarii to the strategus' pastry-cook. This is the earliest datable text in which either of the brothers appears in a public or semi-public role.

The writing runs across the fibres and the back is blank.

Πατᾶς ἑκαὶ κοι(νωνοί) νομικ(οὶ) Παπνουθίῳ ἀδ(ε)λφ(ῶ)  
χαίρειν.

δὸς Ἱέρακος βασιλιᾶτ(ος) τοῦ

στρατηγού εἰς ἡμῶν λόγον

5 δηναρίῳ μυριάδας ἐρενήκοντα,

(δηναρίων) (μυριάδας) ρ μόνας.

(ἔτους) λδ' γ', Ἐπειφ κ. Πατᾶς σεση(μείωμαι).

3 δὸς corrected from δὸς; l. Ἱέρακι πασιλλᾶτι 4 l. λόγον 5 l. δηναρίων, ἐρενήκοντα 6 ✕ ρ

'Patas and associate notaries (?) to our brother Papnuthis, greeting. Give Hierax, confectioner of the strategus, on our account ninety myriads of denarii, 90 myr. den. only. Year 34 = 3, Epeiph 20. I, Patas, have signed.'

1 *νομικός* had a wide range of meanings, from professional *iurisconsulti* to *tabelliones*, scribes with sufficient legal knowledge to draw up correct contracts between private persons; see Preisigke, *Fachwörter* s.v.; Du Cange, s.v.; W. Kunkel, *Herkunft und Sozialstellung der römischen Juristen* (2nd ed. Graz, 1967) 354-65. If one looks for a professional group likely to have been called *νομικοί*, to have been of roughly the standing of Papnuthis, and to have moved in his business circles, a very tempting choice would be the *tabularii* (cf. 3411 3 note), though I do not find the equation *νομικός* = *tabularius* in any lexicon. It is not clear whether there was a difference between *νομικός* and *νομικάριος*. If it is true that the latter were nome officials, as cautiously suggested in P. Beatty Panop. 1. 252 n., they were perhaps of too high a standing to address Papnuthis as ἀδελφός; but if the words are simply alternative forms (so XII 1416 21 n.), then there is nothing to choose between them here.

3 Other instances of πασιλλᾶς in the papyri are cited in XVI 1891 4 n. For the spelling in β-see Gignac, *Phonology*, 83-5.

5 ἐρενήκοντα: for the spelling see Gignac, *Phonology*, 109.

7 The regnal years are those of Constantius and Julian.

## 3391. ORDER FROM HORION TO PAPNUTHIS

44 5B.63/(24-26)b

11 × 12.5 cm

16 January 360

Horion instructs his assistant to provide 10 pounds of meat for members of the staff of 'my lord the count'. That might refer to the catholicus, but there are other possibilities as well. For Horion cf. 3405 introd.

The writing runs across the fibres and the back is blank.

᾽Ωρίων Παπνουτίω  
βοηθῶ χ(αίρειν).  
παράσχου εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν  
τοῖς ὀφφ(ικιαλίους) τοῦ κυρίου μου  
5 τοῦ κόμματος κρέως  
λίτρας δέκα, γί(νονται) κρ(έως) λί(τραί) ι.  
(ἔτους) λςζ" ες", Τῦβι κ'.  
(m. 2) ᾽Ωρίων σε(ημείωμαι) κρέως λίτ(ρ)αα  
δέκα.

'Horion to Papnuthis, assistant, greeting. Supply the *officiales* of my lord the count for their needs with ten pounds of meat, total 10 pounds of meat. Year 36 = 5, Tybi 20. (2nd hand) I, Horion, have signed for ten pounds of meat.'

## 3392. TAX RECEIPT

44 5B.63/(58-59)b

11.5 × 27.5 cm

14 June 360

A receipt for *πρόσκαυρα*, *ἀνωνικά* *εἶδη*, and *χλωρὸς* *χόρτος* issued by the *praepositus pagi* Horion (cf. 3405 introd.) acting through his assistant Dorotheus.

Receipts for taxes collected directly by the office of the *praepositus* are remarkably scarce, seeing that tax-collection seems to have been a principal duty of *βοηθοί* like Dorotheus and Papnuthis: another example of such is SB V 7756. For some reason 3392 remained in Dorotheus' hands instead of those of the taxpayer, and so was preserved among his papers.

The last two of the three taxes paid are well attested (see Lallemand, *L'Administration civile*, 192, 197), but the only other receipt for *πρόσκαυρα* is BGU III 799, said to be from the Arabic period. P. Lond. III 979, a land lease from AD 346, specifies that the landlord must pay all taxes, including *ἀνῶνα* καὶ *πρόσκαυροι ἐπιβολαί*. Otherwise the charge is known only from comparable clauses in documents of the sixth century, where it is contrasted with *κανονικά* (see P. Cair. Masp. II 151. 73 note), and from 3427 3. See in general Karayannopoulos, *Finanzwesen*, 138-41, where *πρόσκαυρα* are

identified as *superindictiones*, extraordinary levies authorized by the emperor in times of emergency. Minor taxes for local purposes would also seem possible.

On the back, written across the fibres: βαμ.( ) [ 2 , Θῶνις[.

παρέσχ(εν) Θαήσις γυν(ή) Διονυ-  
σίου ὑπ(έρ) προσκέρον καὶ ἀνωνι-  
κῶν ἰδῶν τῆς εὐτυχούσης  
τρίτης ἰνδι(κτίωνος) παντοίων ὑπ(έρ) (ἀρουρῶν) δςζ'  
5 πλήρης καὶ ὁμοίος ὑπ(έρ) χλωροῦ  
χρότου τῆς αὐτῆ[ς ἰνδι(κτίωνος) [τ]ὸ ἐροῦν  
πλήρης.  
(ἔτους) λςζ ες, Παῦνι κ'.  
᾽Ωρίων πραιπ(όσιτος) δι' ἐμοῦ Δωροθέου  
10 βοηθ(οῦ) σε(ημείωμαι).

1 παρεςχ', γυνς 2 υ', 1. προσκαίρων 3 1. εἰδῶν 4 ἠδῆ, υ' 2- 5 1. ὁμοίως; υ';  
1. χλωροῦ 6 1. χρότου; ἰνδι; 1. αἰροῦν 9 πραι 10 βοηθ' σε

'Thaesis, wife of Dionysius, has delivered the full amount due for occasional taxes and items of all sorts for the *annona* for the fortunate third indiction on 4 aruras, and likewise the proper share of fresh hay for the same indiction, in full. Year 36 = 5, Payni 20. Signed by me, Horion, *praepositus*, acting through me, Dorotheus, assistant.'

## 3393. PETITION TO THE RIPARI

44 5B.63/(15)a

21 × 29 cm.

8 June 365

According to this petition, Dorotheus and Papnuthis had been employed by the councillor Eulogius to assist in the collection of taxes from Terythis, a village in the fourth *pagus* of the Oxyrhynchite nome. They had accordingly paid the *ἀπαιτητά* a considerable sum for taxes due there, incurring debt from private lenders in order to raise the money required. This they had planned to recover when they collected the taxes in the village, but then Eulogius sent instead of them his own son and a different assistant. As the collection at Terythis had been completed, the brothers saw no prospect of regaining their money from that source, and their creditors had already been receiving interest for six months. They therefore request in this petition that the money which they had paid be returned by the responsible officials.

Eulogius is identified in the text simply as *πολιτευόμενος*. It is hard to say whether such heavy involvement in tax collection as his clearly was is to be expected of a councillor *per se*. According to 3400 30, 3425 7, and SB V 7756. 22 there was at least one

*praepositus* named Eulogius in office about the time of this text. Possibly the Eulogius of 3393 is the same man, and is acting here as *praepositus*, though if so the designation *πολυτεύμενος* seems oddly imprecise.

3393 is complete but was left unsigned. Probably it is a fair copy of the petition which the brothers kept for themselves. The transcript was made by P. J. Parsons. The back is blank.

ὑπατίας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Οὐαλεντιανοῦ καὶ Οὐάλεντος  
αἰωνίων Ἀγούστων, Παῦνι ιδ'.

Ἀρηλίους Καρμάτη καὶ Διογένι ριπαρίους Ὁξυρνηχίτου  
παρὰ Ἀρηλίων Δωροθέου καὶ Παπνουθίου ἀμφοτέρων ἐκ πατρὸς  
5 Ἀφυγγίου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. πρὸ τούτου προετράπημεν  
ὑπὸ Εὐλόγιου πολιτευομένου ὥστε χώραν βοήθου ἀποπληρώσαι  
ἐπὶ κ[ώ]μης Τερ[ύ]θε[ω]ς καὶ δίδοναι πάσαν προχρεῖαν τοῦ εὐρεῖν  
καὶ δίδοναι εἰς τὰ ζητούμενα δημόσια παντοῖα ἄχρις ἂν τὴν  
ἀπαίτησιν τῆς προλεχθείσης κώμης ποιησώμεθα, καὶ δὴ πει-  
10 θέντες ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτῶ ἀμέμπτως τὴν χρεῖαν ἀπεπληρώσαμεν  
ἐν δὲ τῷ μετοξῷ ὀφειμῖαν προχρεῖαν παρέσχεν, ἀλλὰ ἡμᾶς παρέβα-  
λεν τοῖς ἀπατη[τα]ῖς καὶ μετὰ ὕβρεων ἀπητήθημεν τὰ συντίοντα  
τῇ αὐτῇ κώμῃ. ἔ[π]ι τούτων ἀπὸ τῆς πολλῆς πενίας μηδὲν κεκτη-  
μένον κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἑδανισάμεθα παρὰ δανιστῶν ῥήτην πο-  
15 σότητα ἀργυρίων καὶ νομισματίων τὰ καὶ δοθέντα εἰς τὰ αὐτὰ δημόσια  
καὶ ὅτι [ο]ὐκ ἐπετρά[π]ημεν ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Εὐλόγιου ἐκβήναι εἰς τὴν προ-  
ειρημένην κώμην ἀπὸ μηνὸς Τύβι ἕως τοῦ παρόντος καὶ τόκου  
χορηγοῦμεν τοῖς δανισταῖς τοῖς εὐχρηστῆσασιν ἡμῖν μὴ ἐπιτραπέντες  
τὴν ἀπαίτησιν ποιῆσασθαι τῶν προχρησθέντων ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ  
20 καὶ τὸν νῦν αὐτοῦ Σαραπίωνα καὶ Δωρόθεον βοήθον ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Τερ-  
θιν ἀνθ' ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν ἀπαίτησιν πεποιήνται, τούτου ἕνεκεν τὰ βιβλία  
ἐπιδιδάμεν τῇ ὑμῶν ἐμμελίᾳ ἀξιοῦντες μετασταλῆναι τοὺς δημο-  
σίους τοὺς καὶ ὑπευθύνους ὄντας καὶ ἐπαναγκασθῆναι πάντα τὰ  
προχρησθέντα ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀποδοῦναι ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς δυνηθῶμεν τοῖς  
25 εὐχρηστῆσασιν ἡμῖν ἀποδοῦναι καὶ συνμεῖναι ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδείας καὶ μὴ  
ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ἀφορμῆς μετανάσται γενώμεθα τῆς πατρίδος.

1 ὑπατίας	2 αἰωνίων, παῦνι	3 Διογένι	4 ἀμφοτέρων corrected from ἀμφοτέροι
6 ὑπο	12 ἰ. συντίοντα	13 ἰ. ἐπεὶ	14 ἰ. δανιστῶν
18 ἰ. δανισταῖς, εὐχρηστῆσασιν	19 ὑφ	20 νῦν, ἰ. ἀπέστειλεν	23 ὑπευθύνους, ἐπαναγ' κασθῆναι
24 ὑφ, ἵνα	25 ἰ. ἰδεῖα		

'The consulship of our masters Valentinian and Valens, eternal Augusti, Payni 14. To Aurelius Sarmates and Aurelius Diogenes, *riparii* of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Dorotheus and Aurelius Papnuthis, both of them sons of Aphynchis, from the same city. Some time ago we were persuaded by Eulogius, a councillor, to fill the post of assistant for the village of Terythis and to give a full advance toward finding and contributing to every sort of public dues required until we should have carried out the collection for the afore-mentioned village; and we were satisfied with these terms, and carried out our duties for him irrefragably. In the meantime he provided no advance, but referred the collectors to us, and the taxes which are due from the same village have been exacted from us with insults. Since, then, on account of our great poverty we possess no property whatever, we borrowed from moneylenders a certain quantity of silver coins and of solidi, which have indeed been paid to cover the same public dues. And because we were not permitted by the same Eulogius to go out to the afore-stated village from the month of Tybi up to the present, and we pay interest to the creditors who made loans to us although we have not been permitted to carry out the collection of the sums advanced by us, but he even sent his son Sarapion and Dorotheus, an assistant, to Terythis instead of us and they have carried out the collection, for this reason we have presented the petition to your grace, requesting that the responsible officials be summoned and required to return all that was advanced by us so that we can repay the men who made loans to us and remain in our native city and not be forced to become exiles from our homeland on this account.'

3 *ριπαρίους*: the highest police agents of the nome. See Lallemand, *L'Administration civile* 162-4; Oertel, *Liturgie*, 284-6.

5-7 *προετράπημεν . . . προχρεῖαν*: a principal difficulty in interpreting this text is to decide by whom and to whom this monetary advance was to be given. (a) The natural meaning of the Greek as it stands is that Eulogius had persuaded the brothers both to accept appointment as assistants and to pay in advance the whole amount which they were to collect in taxes; line 19 speaks of sums in fact advanced by them. This would agree with evidence elsewhere in the archive that not only Dorotheus and Papnuthis but other persons in similar positions sometimes, and perhaps routinely, advanced to the *ἀπαιτηταῖς* sums that were due for the villages that fell under their jurisdiction in expectation of recovering the money with profit from the villagers later (cf. 3397, 3419; for the second century cf. XXXVIII 2861 11-12 n.). (b) The objections to (a) are that taking on the tax liability for an entire village even temporarily seems an astonishing thing for two persons who claim to suffer from *πολλή πενία* (13) to do, and that it leaves the charge in 11, that Eulogius *ὀφειμῖαν προχρεῖαν παρέσχεν*, without much obvious relevance. One may therefore prefer to believe that the text has been misdrafted: e.g., read *καὶ (ὀπεδέξατο) δίδοναι*, 'and he (Eulogius) promised to give (us) a full advance so that we would be able (ταῦ εὐρεῖν) also to contribute' etc. For *εὐρέσκω* = 'be able' cf. LSJ s.v. I (3), for the articular infinitive Mandilaras, *The Verb* §§ 815 ff.

7-8 On the assumption that the text is correct as written, τὰ ζητούμενα δημόσια παντοῖα apparently serves as object to both *εὐρεῖν* and *δίδοναι* etc. Mandilaras, *The Verb* §§ 815 ff., cites no articular infinitive altogether parallel to the two here in that case. The idea would seem to be that the task at hand was thought of as finding the necessary taxation sums among the villagers and turning these over to the state through the *ἀπαιτηταῖς* (12). If the brothers paid the latter in advance of the actual collection they reserved the right to claim the money back again under certain circumstances (as they do in this petition), so the use of *προχρεῖαν* would be justified, the payment not yet being final. This would be the interpretation suggested by 5-7 n. (a). If the advance spoken of was made by Eulogius to the brothers to be paid for taxes (5-7 n. (b)), the use of *προχρεῖα* to describe it raises no problems. But on either view the construction as a whole is difficult and the translation remains uncertain.

11 *ὀφειμῖαν προχρεῖαν παρέσχεν*: the point of this complaint is clear if 5-7 n. (b) is correct. In the case of (a) one must assume that the persons who had actually delivered money or goods to the *ἀπαιτηταῖς* had a moral, if not legal, claim to carry out the subsequent tax collection themselves. As Eulogius had made no such advance, he was in the brothers' view not entitled to forestall them in the collection.

20 SB V 7756 is a tax receipt signed by a Eulogius acting through a son who might or might not be the Sarapion mentioned here. The receipt is dated to 27 September 359, however, almost six years earlier than this text, so there may have been two *praepositi* named Eulogius, assuming that the man here was indeed a *praepositus*.



## 3394. PETITION TO FLAVIUS FLAVIANUS

44 5B.60/C(11)a

15 × 28 cm

Fourth century (364–67?)

Flavius Flavianus, to whom this document is addressed, is presumably to be identified with the recipient of another petition, PSI VIII 944. Neither text preserves Flavianus' title further than the rank *vir clarissimus*, but PSI 944. 3 definitely, and 3394 4 probably, refer to the man as *ἡγεμῶν κύριε*. According to C. Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des préfets d'Égypte de 284 à 395* (Coll. Latomus 55, Brussels 1962) 101 n. 4, this usage indicates that Flavianus was a *praeses*; and in the context of this archive, that could only be the *praeses Augustamnicae*. A *praefectus Aegypti* named Flavianus, however, is attested for the years AD 364–6 (Vandersleyen 18 no. 39; Lallemand, *L'Administration civile*, 246, no. 31). During those years Oxyrhynchus was part of Augustamnica (cf. XLVI 3308 7 n.), but the possibility of an appeal to the prefect in that period cannot be excluded (3398 9 n.). If the Flavianus of our text should in fact be the *praefectus Aegypti* rather than the *praeses Augustamnicae*, his known term of office would place this petition to within a year of the similar 3393. It seems best for the present to leave the question of his position undecided.

The papyrus is badly mutilated, but it is clear that Dorotheus and Papnuthis, having borrowed money to pay taxes, found themselves in unexpectedly straitened circumstances, were unable to meet their obligations, and feared that they might have to take to flight. Flavianus is requested to take some action so that this can be avoided, but the nature of the desired intervention is lost in lacuna. The situation as a whole is reminiscent of 3393, and the two cases may be related, though they do not seem to be identical. Unlike 3393, the brothers actually signed the present text. As it was nevertheless found among their papers it was either never sent or was returned to them.

The back contains the following note, written across the fibres: λέγομεν δὴ <sup>2</sup> Θωνίου υἱοῦ Κοπρήτος <sup>3</sup> καὶ Διοσκοουρίδου <sup>4</sup> καὶ Σενήρου, 'we mean of Thonius the son of Coptes, Dioscurides, and Severus'.

[Φλα]ργίωι Φλαουιανῶι τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ [

[π]α[ρ]ῶι Ἀβ[ρ]ηλίῳ Παπνουτίῳ καὶ Δωροθέῳ ἀμ[φοτέρων] . . . ἀπὸ τῆς . . .

[Ο]ξυρυγχιῶν πόλεως. πάντας μὲν ο, [

[ἡγε]μῶν κύ[ρι]ε, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ ἡμᾶς τοὺς μετρι[

5 [ . . . ]ίας [ . . . ] αἰζόμενοι τὰ εὐσεβῆ τελέματα π . . . [

[εἰς τ]ὸ ἱερώ[τα]τον ταμεῖον πληρώσαι ἐδανικάμ[εθα

[ . . . ] . αι τοῦτο εὐμαρῶς πληρώσαι, ἀλλὰ ἀπ[.]τυχ[

[παρὰ τὰ]ς ἡμετέρας προσδοκίας παθόντες ζημῶ[

1 [φλα]ργίωι φλαουιανῳ

6 1. ἐδανικάμεθα

- [ . . . ] . c, οἱ δὲ δανισταὶ τῆς ἐχ[ο]ύσης ἡμᾶς μ. . . [
- 10 [ . . . ] δ[ι]νας πλείστους ἀπήτησαν ἔω[ε]κ ἂν ἐκ τῆς εκ[
- [ . . . ] . . . [ . . . ] ἐν εἰς τοσοῦτον ὧ[ε]θ[ε] ἡμᾶς καὶ τῶν ἀνα[γ]καίων δεῖσθαι (?)
- [ . . . ] ἔ[μ]εκε[εν] τῆς τῶν δανιστῶν πλεονεξίας καὶ δ[
- [ . . . ] . [ . . . ] τὴν πατρίδα καταλύσαι στενοχω[ρ]
- [ . . . ] τόδε σοι ποιήσασθαι διὰ τοῦτο ἀναγκ[
- 15 [ . . . ] . . . παρασχόμενοι ὅπως ἐλεήσης τ[
- [ . . . ] . . . παρὰ Ἀθανασίου τοῦ προ[πο]λιτευ[σο]μ[ένου]
- [ . . . ] δ[ο]ῦναι πρὸς τ[ῆν] πόλιν, τῆς τύχης [ . . . ] [
- [ . . . ] δανισταῖς τὸ εὐχ[ε]ν[ε]μον ποιήσασθαι καὶ [
- [ . . . ] ε[μ]μείναι καὶ εἰς [ἀ]εὶ τοὶ εὐχαριστήσομεν [
- 20 (m. 2) Ἀβρήλιος Παπνουθὺς Ἀβυγγχίου ἐπίδεδω[κα].
- (m. 3) Ἀβρήλιος Δωροθέος Ἀβυγγχίου ἐπίδεδωκα.

g 1. δανισταὶ 12 1. δανιστῶν 13 1. καταλείψαι 18 1. δανισταῖς 19 1. συμμείναι

<sup>1</sup>To Flavius Flavianus, *vir clarissimus*, [*praeses* (or, prefect of Egypt),] from Aurelius Papnuthis and Aurelius Dorotheus, both of us [sons of Aphynchis, from the brilliant and most brilliant] city of the Oxyrhynchites. [The laws,] O lord *praeses* (or, prefect), [offer shelter to] all men, but especially to us who live in modest circumstances. [Pressed as we are by our lack of means] we borrowed money to pay the holy taxes into the most sacred treasury, [thinking that we could] easily pay this back; but we suffered misfortune, and monetary losses beyond our expectations, and the moneylenders, [learning of the sudden poverty] which holds us in its grip, demanded [immediate return of the loans,] many as they are, until from the . . . to such a degree that we lack even the bare necessities (?) . . . because of the greed of the moneylenders, and [may even be forced] to leave our native city because of our straitened circumstances. For this reason we have of necessity presented this petition to you, laying [our case before you] so that you may have mercy . . . from Athanasius, *principalis* (?) . . . give (?) to the city, fate . . . be fair to the moneylenders and . . . remain [in our native city] and be eternally grateful to you. (2nd hand) Presented by me, Aurelius Papnuthis, son of Aphynchis. (3rd hand) Presented by me, Aurelius Dorotheus, son of Aphynchis.'

<sup>1</sup> If [ἡγε]μῶν in 4 is right, and if Vandersleyen is correct in believing that that word could not be applied to the prefect of Egypt later than about AD 324 (*Chronologie*, 102), then Flavianus was *praeses Augustamnicae* and [ἡγεμῶν] is expected at the end of this line. If he was none the less prefect, [ἐπαρχῶι Ἀβυγγχίου] should be restored.

<sup>4</sup> μετρι[ως] ἔχοντας or μετρι[σους].

<sup>5</sup> The first word may be [πεν]ίας, [στενο]χωρίας, or the like; then probably [βι]αζόμενοι or [πι]αζόμενοι. At the end of the line παρὰ is more likely than πληρώσασθαι.

<sup>6–7</sup> [οἰ]όμενοι | δύνασθαι would give a satisfactory sense.

<sup>7</sup> Possible restorations include ἀπ[ὸ] τύχ[ης], ἀπ[ὸ] [ἀ]τυχ[ή]ματος, and ἀπ[ὸ] τυχ[όν]τες.

<sup>8</sup> ζημῶ[ν], ζημω[θέν]τες, ζημώ[σεις], vel sim.

<sup>16</sup> For the uncertainty about the meaning of *προπολιτευόμενος* see A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils*, 55–8.

<sup>18–19</sup> For the thought cf. 3393 24–5, ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς δυνηθῶμεν τοῖς εὐχρηστῆσαι ἡμῖν ἀποδοῦναι καὶ συμμείναι ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδέας. It seems likely that the petition ends with the word *εὐχαριστήσομεν*, for which possibly the subjunctive should be read, dependent on ὅπως in line 15.

## 3395. SKIPPER'S RECEIPT FOR GRAIN DELIVERED

44 5B.60/C(9-10)a (back)

10 × 27 cm

27 July 371

A receipt for 35 artabas of wheat plus associated charges issued by a κυβερνήτης to Papnuthis and Dorotheus. It is not stated whether the grain was received from them in an official capacity, as taxes which they had themselves collected and here pass on for shipment downstream; or whether it was owed by them personally on land they owned themselves. All plausibility, however, is in favour of the first explanation: receipts for individual tax-payments should be made out by tax-collectors, not by boat-pilots.

On the other side is 3398.

Αὐρήλιος Θεωνάμμωνος  
 Παύλου, κυβερνήτου πλοίου κληρ(ονόμων)  
 Ἡρακλίου ἀπὸ λογιστῶν τῆς λαμ(πράς)  
 καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὀξυρυνχιδῶν πόλεως  
 5 Αὐρήλιου Παπνουθίου καὶ Δωροθέ-  
 ος ἀδελφῶ χαίρειν. μεμάρτη-  
 με καὶ ἐναυβαλόμην παρ' ὑμῶν  
 ἰς τὴν προκίμε[μεγρον]νον πλοῖον  
 ὑπὲρ γενήματος ἰεῖς ἰνδικτιώ-  
 10 νος κύτου καθαροῦ ἀρ[γυ]τάβας  
 τριάκοντα πένται, (γίν.) (ἀρτ.) λε μό-  
 να, τούτων τὰ κοῦμηλα καὶ τὰ ναῦ-  
 λα καὶ τὸ σακκοφορικῶν πλήρης.  
 (ἔτους) μζς ιςζ' [Ἐπ] Μεσορή γ.  
 15 Αὐρήλιος Θεωνάμμωνος ὁ προκίμε-  
 νος συμφωνεῖ μοι ὡς πρόκι-  
 τε. Αὐρήλιος Ἐλλάδιος Ἰουλιανοῦ  
 ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματα  
 μὴ ἰδός.

1 I. Θεωνάμμων 2 Παύλου corrected from Παῦλος; I. κυβερνήτης; κληρ/ 3 λαμζ 4 λαμζ  
 5-6 I. Αὐρήλιος Παπνουθίου καὶ Δωροθέω ἀδελφοῖς 6-7 I. μεμάρτημαι 7 I. ἐναυβαλόμην; ἰμων  
 8 I. εἰς τὸ προκείμενον πλοῖον 11 I. πέντε 12 I. κοῦμουλα 13 I. σακκοφορικῶν 15-16 I.  
 Θεωνάμμων ὁ προκείμενος συμφωνεῖ 16-17 I. πρόκειται 17 Ἰουλιανου 18 ὑπὲρ 19 ἰδός, c  
 corrected from τ; 1. εἰδός

‘Aurelius Theonammon, son of Paulus, skipper of a boat belonging to the heirs of Heraclius, former logistes of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, to his brothers Aurelius Papnuthis

## 3395. SKIPPER'S RECEIPT FOR GRAIN DELIVERED

and Aurelius Dorotheus, greeting. I have had measured out and have embarked from you into the afore-mentioned boat, for the crop of the 15th indiction, thirty-five artabas of clean wheat, = 35 art. only, the *cumululi* on these, and the shipping and portrage fees, in full. Year 47 = 16, Mesore 3. I, the afore-mentioned Aurelius Theonammon, agree as stated. I, Aurelius Helladius, son of Julianus, wrote on his behalf, as he is illiterate.’

1-2 Θεωνάμμωνος Παύλου: or, less probably, Θεῶν Ἀμμωνος Παύλου, ‘Theon, son of Amon, the son of Paulus’.

3 The logistes Heraclius has not appeared in any other documents published to date.

12 κοῦμηλα: two metrological documents define κοῦμουλον as  $\frac{1}{30}$  artaba (P. Lond. V 1718 and ZPE 15, 1974, 173-8). As a tax it appears only here, in ZPE 32 (1978) 255 (line 10), in P. Flor. I 75. 21, and perhaps in P. Cair. Goodspeed 14. 7 (BL I p. 173). A *cumululus* of  $\frac{1}{30}$  artaba was equal to the difference between a *modius xystus* and a *modius cumulatulus*, so one might speculate that *cumululi* were charged when grain paid in by the first unit had been due in the second. While the use of *modii xysti* in Egypt is attested, however (see ZPE 24, 1977, 62-3), a requirement that grain taxes be paid in *modii cumulatuli* is not.

13 σακκοφορικῶν (I. σακκοφορικῶν): only here and P. Cair. Goodsp. 14. 7, but P. Flor. I 75. 21 uses a synonym, σακκοφορικοὶ μισθοί.

14 On the Oxyrhynchite eras see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, 36-42. This example is to be added to the table there on p. 40, along with another of the same year in ZPE 37 (1980) 213-14.

After the year, the scribe started to write the previous month Ἐπειφ before correcting himself.

## 3396. LETTER FROM PAPNUTHIS TO HIS PARENTS

44 5B.63/(57)a

18 × 28 cm

Fourth century

Papnuthis writes home from Alexandria, where he has been sent by ‘the landlord of Sarapammon and his associate’ to receive a large sum of money on orders of the ἡγεμών, who in this archive can only be the *praeses Augustamnicae*. Apparently the ‘landlords’ are active in government business of some kind: the background is not clear, but it may be worth noting the involvement of landlords in collecting taxes in 3400, and the suggestion made in the introduction there that Papnuthis’ landlord may have been serving as *praepositus pagi* at the time. In Alexandria Papnuthis’ cash-in-hand has dwindled to 47,500 denarii, a very modest sum for the period.

Papnuthis’ main concern in writing, however, seems to be centred around certain ‘pledges’, ἐνέχυρα. A banker has been instructed to see that his parents get the money for these, and Papnuthis is anxious to assure himself that they have in fact received it. One recalls the brothers’ difficulties with creditors in 3393-4, but there is no necessary connection between the loans mentioned there and the pledges here.

The letter gives some striking examples of terms of family relationships used simply to express friendship or respect. From other texts we know that the Aphynchis and Maria whom Papnuthis addresses as father and mother were in fact his parents, but the closing lines greet an additional ‘mother’ and two more ‘fathers’. One ‘brother’ besides Dorotheus, however, could of course be a real sibling, as could the four ‘sisters’. The names Ἐὐθηθις (24) and Τασιβάνις (27) are not found in the *NB* or the *Onomasticon*.

κυρία μου πατρί Αφυγχίω καὶ τῇ κυρία μου μητρὶ

Μαρίας Παπνοθίου χαίρειν.

προηγούμενος εὐχομαι τῇ θείᾳ προνοίᾳ οἱ[γ]ίνοντά σοι καὶ δλοκληροῦν(τα)  
καὶ εὐθυμῶντα {καὶ} ἀποδοθῆναι [[σοι]] ἡμῶν τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ γράμματα. ποσάκει

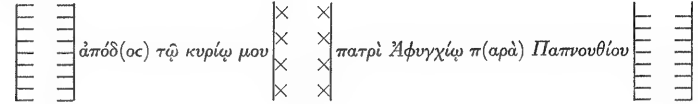
- 5 ἔγραψα ἡμῶν περὶ τῶν ἑναχύρων ἐκείνων καὶ οὐδὲ  
φάσις οὐδὲ βάσις. περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἑναχύρων καὶ τὴν γράφω  
ἡμῶν ὁ γὰρ {ξ} γεούχος Σαραπάμμωνος ἔγραψεν πρὸς Εὐδαί-  
μων Θεοδώρου τραπέζι[την] παρασχεθῆναι ἡμῶν τῶ ἀργύριων.  
εἰ μὲν οἴδαται ὅτι ἐλάβεται τῶ ἀργύριων παρὰ Εὐδαίμωνος, ἀντι-  
10 γράφαται μοι· εἰ μὲν οἴδαται πάλιν ὅτι οὐκ αἴδωκεν ἡμῶν  
τῶ ἀργύριων, γράφαται μοι καὶ ποιήσει ἐν νομισμάτιων  
ἡδὴ ἐν ἀργυρίοις ἑναχθῆναι ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ὅρα μὴ ἀμελήσῃται  
μὴ γράψασθαι μοι. γίνωσκε δὲ ὑμᾶς θέλω ὅτι ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ  
εἰμὲι μόνος μετὰ δηναρίων μυριάδος ταλάντων εἰκοσι  
15 πένται. ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἔγραψεν πρὸς τὸν γεούχων  
Σαραπάμμωνος καὶ τῶ(ν) κοινῶ(ν) αὐτοῦ ἀρθῆναι ἐπεὶ τῆς  
Ἀλεξανδρείας ἀργυρίων δηναρίων μυριάδας μυριάδων  
ἑπτὰ ἡμῶν καὶ ἀπέστειλόν μοι μετὰ τοῦ μέρους ἡμῶν  
καὶ παραμενώμαι ἐπεὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἕως ἐξωδιασθῶ αὐτὰ  
20 καὶ πάλιν ἀπέρχομαι ἐπεὶ τῆς Ἀθριβετιῶν πόλεως.  
ἀσπάζομαι τὴν κυρία(ν) μου σύμβιον Ἀπιάς, ἀσπάζομαι τὴν  
κυρία(ν) μου ἀδελφὴν Τερσοῦς, ἀσπάζομαι τὸν κύριώ(ν) μου ἀδελφὸν  
Γερόντιος, ἀσπάζομαι τὸν δεσπότη(ν) μου ἀδελφὸν Δωρόθεως,  
ἀσπάζομαι τὴν ἀδελφὴν μου Εὐθῆσις, ἀσπά[ζ]ομαι τὴν  
25 κυρία(ν) μου ἀδελφὴν τὴν Μικκῆν, ἀσπάζομαι Χωοῦς καὶ <τῆν> σύμβιον  
αὐτοῦ Ἡράκλειαν καὶ τὰ ἀβάσκαντα αὐτῆς τέκνα, ἀσπάζομαι  
τὸν πατέρα μου Ἄμμωνιον, ἀσπάζομαι Τασιλβάνεις  
καὶ τὰ ἀβάσκαντα αὐτῆς τέκνα, ἀσπάζομαι τὸν πατέρα  
μου Πετεμοῖνος καὶ τὴν μητέρα μου Ταῆς[ει]ς

2 l. *Μαρία, Παπνοθίς* 3 l. *προηγούμενος, θεία, υγιαίνοντά σοι* 4 l. *εὐθυμῶντα, ποσάκει*  
(for the construction of 3-4 see note ad loc.) 5 l. *ἐνεχύρων* 6 l. *ἐνεχύρων* 7 *ἡμῶν*  
7-8 *Ἐν in Εὐδαίμων* (read acc.) corrected from *θεο* 8 and often, 1. *τὸ ἀργύριον* 9 l. *οἴδατε,*  
*ἐλάβετε, Εὐδαίμωνος, ἀντιγράψατε* 10 l. *οἴδατε πάλιν, εἴδωκεν; ἡμῶν* 11 l. *γράψατε; ποιήσει*  
corrected from *πόσος; 1. νομισμάτων* 12 l. *ἐνεχθῆναι, ἀμελήσῃται* 13 l. *γινώσκειν, θέλω*  
14 l. *εἰμὲ* 15 l. *πέντε, τὸν γεούχον* 16 l. *τὸν κοινῶν, ἐπὶ* 17 l. *ἀργυρίου* 18 l. *ἡμῶν*  
*ἀπέστειλόν με, μέρος* 19 l. *ἐπὶ, ἐξωδιασθῶ* 20 l. *πάλιν, ἐπὶ* 21 ff. l. *σύμβιον Ἀπιάδα,*  
*ἀδελφόν, etc., with all names in the acc.*

The following is written along the left margin:

- 30 καὶ τὰ ἀβάσκαντα αὐτῆς τέκνα, ἀσπάζομαι τὴν κυρία(ν) μου καὶ ἀδελφὴν  
Παλλαδίης, ἀσπάζομαι πάντα  
κατ' ὄνομα τοὺς φιλοῦντας ἡμᾶς.

Back:



31 l. *φιλοῦντας*

‘To my lord father Aphynchis and my lady mother Maria, greeting from Papnuthis. First of all I pray to the Divine Providence that you are healthy and thriving and cheerful when my letter is delivered to you. How many times I have written to you about those pledges, and not a word, not a step. Now too I am writing about those same pledges, for Sarapammon’s landlord has written to Eudaemon, Theodoros’ son, the banker, to have the money handed over to you. If then you know that you have received the money from Eudaemon, write me back. If, on the other hand, you know that he did not give you the money, write to me and he will have one solidus brought to you immediately in silver coins, but see that you don’t neglect to write to me. I want you to know that I am by myself in Alexandria with a myriad of denarii and twenty-five talents. The *prases* wrote to Sarapammon’s landlord and his associate to have seven and a half myriads of myriads of denarii [i.e., 750,000,000] received in Alexandria, and they sent me with our party. I shall stay in Alexandria till I am paid them, and then shall go away again to Athribis. I greet my lady wife Apias, I greet my lady sister Tereous, I greet my lord brother Gerontius, I greet my master brother Dorotheus, I greet my sister Euechis, I greet my lady sister Mikke, I greet Chouis and his wife Herakleia and her children, may the evil eye not touch them. I greet my father Ammonius (*or*, Ammonion), I greet Tasilbanis and her children, may the evil eye not touch them. I greet my father Petemounius and my mother Taësis and her children, may the evil eye not touch them. I greet my lady and sister Palladia, I greet all those who love us by name. (back) Deliver to my lord father Aphynchis from Papnuthis.’

3 Probably not οἱ[γ]ίνοντα, as traces of the second *ι* should in that case be visible.

3-4 *εὐχομαι . . . γράμματα*: the construction is a contamination of two formulas, *εὐχομαι υγιαίνοντά σοι ἀπολαβεῖν τὰ γράμματα* and *εὐχομαι υγιαίνοντί σοι ἀποδοθῆναι τὰ γράμματα*; in addition, except for one correction in 4, the singular has been used absent-mindedly for the plural. A grammatical version would be *προηγούμενος εὐχομαι τῇ θείᾳ προνοίᾳ υγιαίνουσι ὑμῶν καὶ δλοκληροῦσι καὶ εὐθυμοῦσι ἀποδοθῆναι τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ γράμματα*.

5-6 *οὐδὲ φάσις οὐδὲ βάσις*: this catchy expression sounds proverbial, but I have found no record of it elsewhere.

7 {ξ}: presumably Papnuthis started to write *Σαραπάμμων* instead of *γεούχος Σαραπάμμωνος*.

7-8 *ἔγραψεν . . . παρασχεθῆναι*: I take it that this means ‘he wrote for the money to be supplied’, parallel to *ἔγραψεν . . . ἀρθῆναι* in 15-16, not ‘he wrote that the money had been supplied’.

12 *ἀλλ' ὅρα*: used without regard to the number of the subject, as in I 65 5.

16 It is not clear whether *αὐτοῦ* refers to Sarapammon or to his landlord.

18 Papnuthis cannot have been sent to Alexandria ‘with our share’ of the money, for it was only in Alexandria that he was to be paid that. I take it therefore that *μέρος* here means the group of persons who were sent on this business; cf. *WB* s.v. (2). Alternatively, *μέρος* might refer to the money, and *μετὰ* mean ‘in quest of’ it, but this is very late for that sense of *μετὰ* (*LSJ* s.v. C(2)), which should govern the accusative.

19 *παραινόμενοι*: the use as a deponent is new.

25 *τὴν Μικκρήν*: or *τὴν μικκρήν*, 'my little sister'. P. J. Parsons points out that the use of the article here, which is omitted before the names elsewhere, favours the second interpretation.

Chouh may be the *tabularius* of 3411.

27 *Ἀμμωνίων* could stand for either *Ἀμμώνιον* or *Ἀμμωνίωνα* in this letter.

32 Concerning the figures around the address, Dr Rea has been kind enough to provide the following note: 'Inked designs of this general type often occur in association with addresses. They are connected with the seal or tie which closed the letters. Dr R. A. Coles has pointed out in conversation that the centre of the design is always missing, and for this fact he has advanced the convincing explanation that the designs were drawn around and actually over the seals or ties, so that the parts that were not on the letter itself were removed when it was opened. The purpose of the designs was apparently to enable any unauthorized opening of the letters to be detected, since it would have been difficult to match the original freehand design on a new fastening or to replace the old fastening in exactly the right place.

In this case experiment with a xerox copy of a photograph of 3396 has allowed us to conclude that the letter was folded up into a flat spill about 2 cm. wide and with a length equivalent to the full height of the sheet, 28 cm. The folding was done mostly by rolling from one side, but a single fold from the opposite direction ensured that both the side edges of the letter were hidden safely inside. Three ligatures were put around this spill, one near the middle, and one near each end. The designs were probably put on before the address, which was written on one side of the spill with one half neatly on either side of the central design. The designs were carried on round both sides of the spill. On either side of each ligature a continuous line parallel with it was drawn all round the spill. Each of these three pairs of parallel lines had linking strokes running across the ligature. At the ends the links were perpendicular to the parallels, in the middle they ran diagonally to give a pattern of diamonds. Now that the letter is unfolded the designs appear roughly rectangular in outline.

Other items in this archive have remains of a similar but less complicated method of fastening. There was only one central ligature round 3400 and 3409, which were made into full-length spills like 3396. Two others, 3408 and 3420, were folded horizontally to half their height before the spill was made and were then tied with a single central ligature.

It is perhaps even more common in addresses to find a saltire pattern, again interrupted at the centre, cf. e.g. XLIII 3094. This seems to be appropriate to the shape of a seal, rather than a tie, but that is not certain. Photographs of sealed papyrus letters are to be seen in W. Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde*, Taf. IV and L. Deuel, *Testament of Time*, Pl. I d. Nothing is visible in them of any ink designs. The seals are placed over ties, which are made of narrow strips of papyrus. Perhaps, since it would not be an easy matter to draw ink lines on a seal, the single saltire pattern was drawn over a tie at the place where a seal was to be attached but before it actually was attached. This is a guess only.'

### 3397. LETTER FROM PARNUTHIS TO DOROTHEUS

44 5B.60/C(20-21)a+  
44 5B.63/(39-42)c

16 × 27 cm

Fourth century

Papnuthis was apparently stationed in Oxyrhynchus at the time he wrote this letter, and Dorotheus in the countryside; the latter is urgently requested to send up some money without delay, or, failing that, to send the comarchs from whom it should have been collected. The letter plainly falls in the time when the brothers were employed as assistants to the *praepositus pagi* and as such had armed guards at their disposal together with the authority to effect arrests; cf. 11-12 n.

The sums in question fall into three heads. (a) (1-12). Evidently a levy to hire workmen for some unspecified task had fallen to the village, and the comarchs, who were directly responsible to the *praepositus* and his staff, had not yet turned over the

amount due. In the meantime, the apaitetai have been dunning Papnuthis for it, but his hands are already full with trying to raise a land-tax in gold (21-3). He therefore wants either the money or the comarchs sent to him to the nome capital, where, he says, he can force them to pay; cf. 3-4 and 11-12 nn. (b) (13-15). Some money simply called *ἀργύρια* is to be turned over to one Felix, who does not recur elsewhere. (c) (16-21). Whether to pay for the same workers or for some other purpose, Papnuthis had already advanced some money that was due from the comarchs. If Dorotheus has collected enough taxes by now to cover this sum, he is to send it: cf. the advances which the brothers speak of having made in 3393 and their expectations there too of regaining the money from the taxes to be collected; further 3394, 3419, and P. Osl. II 88. Otherwise, again, the comarchs are to be sent.

The back contains the following short account together with some other jottings now incomprehensible: *Ἀπολλῶς γ[ο] (μικμάτιον) α*, <sup>2</sup> *προδοχή Λάμακος διὰ [...]*. (*δηναρίων*) (*μυριάδες*) *ρρε*, <sup>3</sup> *Παθάς [νο] (μικμάτιον) α*, <sup>4</sup> *Πουόλις δια [...]* (*δην.*) (*μυρ.*) *φν*, <sup>5</sup> *Ἀπολλῶς γ[ο] (μ.) α*, <sup>6</sup> *Παθάς (δην.) (μυρ.) [ 7 λήμματος (δην.) (μυρ.) [...]*. <sup>8</sup> *Ἄθῶρ κδ' π(αρά) Ἀφροῦς [(δην.)] (μυρ.) τμλ'*, <sup>9</sup> *π(αρά) Γέμελλος εψ[μ]αχος (δην.) (μυρ.) ρν'*, <sup>10</sup> *π(αρά) Ψεναμοῦνης (δην.) (μυρ.) ριβ'* καὶ [(τάλ.)] *Ἄωβ (?)*, <sup>11</sup> *π(αρά) Κοπρέου (δην.) (μυρ.) ρν*. The word *προδοχή* (2) has previously been reported only as a doubtful reading in P. Lond. V 1870. Here it is used parallel to *προδοχή* in P. Tebt. I 209 and III 1092, and may be a mistake for that word; cf. 9 note. It may also occur in one of the other jottings. There is a paragraph after l. 6 and another after l. 11. *μ[ον]αχος* is an alternative to *εψ[μ]αχος* in l. 9.

κυρίω μου ἀδελφῷ Δωροθέου

Παπνούτις.

πολλάκις σοι ἔγραψα περὶ τοῦ ἀναλώματος  
τῶν ἐργατῶν καὶ οὐδὲν μοι ἀπέστειλας

5 μὰ τὸν γὰρ Θεὸν καθ' ἐκάστην ποιῶ μεγάλην  
ἀ<η>δίαν μετὰ τῶν ἀπαιτητῶν τούτου χάρις.  
σπούδασον ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἀπόστυλον  
τὸ ἀνάλωμα τῶν αὐτῶν ἐργατῶν· οἶδας  
καὶ σοὶ τί ἐς<τ>ὶν προδοχή. ἐὰν γνοῖς ὅτι  
10 οἱ κίωμαρχοὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησαν δοῦναι αὐτά,  
ἀπόστυλόν μοι τοὺς κωμάρχας καὶ ποιῶ αὐ-  
τοὺς πάντα πληρῶς ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως.  
καὶ σπούδασον τὰ ἀργύρια Φήλικι ἀποστέλει  
ἐν τῇ σήμερον· ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ οὐ βλάβη[τ]η. μὴ

1 l. Δωροθέω  
14 l. τούτω

4 etc. l. ἀπέστειλας

5 l. Θεὸν

8 l. ἐργατῶν

9 l. εὖ

12 l. πληρῶσαι

- 15 ἀφῆς ἡμᾶς ἐν περιτάσει τούτο[υ] χάριν.  
καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων ἃ δέδωκα  
ὑπ(ἐρ) τῶν κωμαρχῶν, σπουδάσον ἀπὸ τῆς  
ἀπετήσεως ἄρην καὶ ἀποστείλαι ἢ τοὺς  
κωμάρχας ἀπόστειλον ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν
- 20 —οἶδες καὶ σοὶ τὰ κακὰ τῆς πόλεως—καὶ τὰ  
ἀναλώματα. καὶ κατάκλιτός εἰμι ἕνεκεν  
τοῦ χρυσίου τῆς ἀρουρατίωνος καὶ ἕως  
σήμερον οὐδὲν ἀπέστειλας. (m. 2 ?) ἐρρώσθαι καὶ εὐχο-  
μαι πολλοὺς χρόν(οις).

15 l. περιτάσει 16 l. ἀναλωμάτων 17 l. κωμαρχῶν 18 l. ἀπατήσεως, αἶρειν 20 l. εὐ  
21 l. κατάκλιτός 23 l. εἰ

'To my lord brother Dorotheus, Papnuthis. I have written to you many times about the expense of the workers and you have sent me nothing; now by God I have great unpleasantness with the collectors every day on account of this. Make haste to send me the expense of the same workers today; you know yourself what financial obligation is. If you know that the comarchs have refused to turn over these (sums), send me the comarchs and I shall make them pay them all in the city. And hasten to send the money to Felix today, for in this you will suffer no disadvantage. Do not leave us in need on this account. And concerning the expenses which I advanced on behalf of the comarchs, make haste to raise them from the collection and send them, or send the comarchs to the city—you know yourself the bad things in the city—and the expense. And I am locked in because of the gold for the land tax and up to today you have sent me nothing. (2nd hand?) I pray for your health for many years.'

3-4 ἀναλώματος τῶν ἐργατῶν: possibly ἀναλώματος was miswritten as ἀναλωμάτων or ἀναλωμάτων. Egyptian villages of the fourth century were sometimes required to present contributions to the support of workers in government service, and this money was collected by higher authorities from the comarchs. ἀναλώματος τῶν ἐργατῶν seems to have occurred before in this connection only in CPR VI 5. 5, where the phrase is partly restored, but cf. ὑπὲρ μέρου(ς) ἐργατῶν . . . καὶ ὑπὲρ τροφείου in P. Hib. II 220. 5-6; further P. Théad. 34-36, P. Flor. III 346, BGU XII 2134 with introd.; H. Missler, *Der Komarch* (dissert. Marburg 1970) 94-5 and 111; N. Lewis, *Inventary of Compulsory Services*, s.v. ἐργασία.

5 καθ' ἑκάστην: sc. ἡμέραν; cf. *WB*, s.v. ἕκαστος.

9 προσδοχή: the only real parallel to this usage seems to be IX 1223 25-8 τοσαύτας γὰρ προσδοχὰς χρεωστοῦμεν, καὶ οὐκέτι πιστευόμεθα, ἐὰν μὴ εὐγνωμονήσωμεν; cf. further P. Tebt. I 209 and III 1092, and perhaps προσδοχή cited in the introduction to this text.

11-12 ποιῶ αὐτοὺς πάντα πληρώσει: cf. in this connection the imprisonment of comarchs in 3409 and the orders to employ torture in 3430, though the latter may not be meant literally.

13 τὰ ἀργύρια: this money is different from that for the workers, since Papnuthis reckons with the possibility that the latter had still to be collected from the comarchs, while this already lies at Dorotheus' immediate disposal.

20 τὰ κακὰ τῆς πόλεως: the prison, for example; cf. 11-12 n.

20-1 καὶ τὰ ἀναλώματα: if the punctuation printed above is correct, these words are direct object of ἀπόστειλον and the οἶδες clause is parenthetical. This would be in keeping with Papnuthis' lively style, but one might also take ἀναλώματα as the object of οἶδες, 'you know the bad things of the city and (the amount of) the expenses.'

21 κατάκλιτός εἰμι: cf. P. Tebt. II 420. 26, P. Amh. II 80. 4, XLIII 3104, and 3409. It seems odd, however, that Papnuthis should mention his being locked up for the land tax only at the end of a letter in which his principal concern is to recover outlays made for another purpose, and odd also that

he expects to be able to coerce the comarchs into paying if he is imprisoned himself at the time. Perhaps he means merely that he is too busy to get away.

22 ἀρουρατίωνος: this word will now have to be read in P. Lips. 62 ii 20, where the editor printed χρυσίου ἀρουρα. . . ονος; cf. Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt*, 217. Otherwise it has occurred only in P. Cair. Masp. III 67329 ii 8.

23-4 The closing formula is written so quickly as to have little resemblance to the script of the body of the letter, but it is not unlikely that both are the work of Papnuthis himself.

## 3398. LETTER FROM PARNUTHIS TO DOROTHEUS

44 5B.60/C(9-10)a (front)

10 x 27 cm

Fourth century

Papnuthis has heard that one Eutrygius has sent to Dorotheus concerning some men from Syron Kome. If Dorotheus meets him, he is to let him know that Papnuthis has already petitioned the prefect about the matter, but no final answer has yet been given. He is further to try to bring him to terms with their landlord Diogenes. Diogenes may be the landlady's 'brother' mentioned in 3407 11, and is conceivably identical with the writer of 3415-16 as well. Eutrygius does not occur elsewhere in the archive.

On the other side is a receipt dated to AD 371, 3395; cf. g. n.

κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ Δωροθέῳ

Παπνοῦθις.

ἔλθων Πανεχώτης πρὸς

μαὶ καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὅτι ἔπεμψε

5 Εὐτρυγιὸς πρὸς καὶ περὶ πάν

ἀπὸ κώμης Σύρων. ἐὰν μά-

θης ὅτι ἠθέλησεν πρὸς σέ

λέγων εἶπὲ αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐνέτυχα

τῷ δεσπότη μου τῷ ἐπάρχῳ

10 περὶ τούτου. ἐκέλευσε Πτολε-

μαίῳ τῷ πολιτευομένῳ

τῆς Κυνῶ ἀκροῦσε τὸ πρᾶγμα

καὶ ἀναφορὰν πεποίηκεν

ἵνα αὐτὸς ἀπηγησῶ

15 πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ κυρίου μου

τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἐπάρχου.

καὶ ἀπελθε πρὸς τὸν γεοῦχον

1 I. Δωροθέῳ  
14 ἵνα; I. ἀπαντήσῃ

4 l. μὲ

5 l. εἰ

8 l. λέγειν

9 l. ἐπάρχῳ

12 l. ἀκροῦσαι

ἡμῶν Διογένην. ποίησον  
αὐτὸν ὀμλήσει Εὐτρυγίῳ  
20 καὶ ἀντίγραφόν μοι τί πεποι-  
ηκες πρὸς αὐτούς.

ἐρρώσθαι σε εὐχομαι πολλοῖς  
χρόνοις, κύριε ἀδελφε.

19 l. ὀμλήσει 20-21 l. πεποίηκας

'To my lord brother Dorotheus, Papnuthis. Panechotes came to me and told me that Eutrygius sent to you about the men from Syron Kome. If you learn that he wanted to speak to you, tell him that I petitioned my lord the prefect concerning this matter. He ordered Ptolemaeus, the councillor of Cynopolis, to hear the affair, and he made a report that I should again approach his excellency my lord the most glorious prefect. And go to our landlord Diogenes. Make him talk with Eutrygius and write back to me what you have done as far as they are concerned. I pray for your health for many years, lord brother.'

9 ἐπάργου (l. -ω): the more extended formulation in 15-16 makes it as good as certain that this means the *praefectus Aegypti* and not, for example, some military prefect.

The other side of this text contains a tax receipt from AD 371 (3395) written across the fibres, while 3398 is written parallel to them. If this were sufficient indication that 3398 was the earlier text, then it would offer us the first reasonably clear instance of direct appeal to the prefect of Egypt rather than the *praeses Augustamnicae* by a resident of that province: for there is virtually no chance that the letter pre-dates the creation of Augustamnica in AD 341, and the province continued to exist as late as 373 (XLVI 3308; for the little that is known of the prefect's authority in provinces under *praesides* see C. Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des préfets*, Coll. Latomus 55, Brussels, 1962, pp. 110-14; 3308 7 n.). However, 3395 may be earlier than 3398, and that would allow the latter to have been written after the reunion of Augustamnica with Aegyptus: other examples in this archive of writing across the fibres in the earlier of two texts, or in cases where the other side was left blank, are 3385, 3387-8, 3390-1, 3404, 3406, 3412, 3427. Only in 3412 is a *collema* preserved, one showing that the traditional *recto* side was used first in that instance. Cf. further P. Tebt. I 41 introd.

11 τῷ πολιτευομένῳ τῆς Κυνώ: this phrasing is possible only if Κυνώ designates a city with a βουλή, in this case Cynopolis: for the form of the name see e.g. H. Gauthier, *Les nomes d'Égypte* (Cairo, 1935) pl. I no. 12, pl. II no. 13. If Papnuthis' petition to the prefect involved conflicting claims of Oxyrhynchite officials, then a Cynopolite may have been chosen as arbitrator in expectation that he would be more impartial than a native of Oxyrhynchus. But links between the two nomes appear to have been so close that an opposite explanation also deserves consideration, namely that Cynopolite interests could have been directly involved in the case. Cf. 3423 12 n.

12 ἀκροῦσε: apart from an unhelpful entry in the *EM* s.v. ἀκροῶ this active form has not been known before. Cf. Du Cange on ἀκροῦσαι, 'auditores, qui causas cognoscendis praesunt'. One could of course read ἀκροῦσ<θ>ε. F. Gignac cites only one example of the loss of θ after c (ἐρρώσ<θ>αι, VII 1069 34, *Phonology* p. 98), but the corresponding loss of τ is well known (ibid. 66-7).

## 3399. LETTER FROM PARNUTHIS TO DOROTHEUS

44 5B.63(86-87)b

11.5 × 28 cm

Fourth century

A note from Papnuthis to his brother, informing him of the safe receipt of various sums of money. These may have been dispatched by Dorotheus himself from taxes collected in the country; cf. e.g. 3397.

The back is blank.

κύριῳ μου ἀδελφῷ Δωροθέῳ  
Παπνοῦθις.

γγινώ<ς>κιν σε βούλομαι ὅτι ὑπεδεξάμην  
παρὰ Ἰσιδώρου ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀργυρίου

5  
κηναρίων μυριάδας μυριάδων μίαν

καὶ μυριάδας χιλιάς διακοσίας πενήτηκον-

τα, (γίνονται) (κηναρίων) (μυριάς) (μυριάδων) α ἄν και δι(ὰ) τοῦ  
φύλακος

νομ(μάτια) ἕξ και ἀργυρ(ίου) (δην.) (μυρ.) (μυρ.) α 5 φ<sup>ε</sup>.

ἐρρώσθαι σε εὐχομαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις,

κύριε ἀδελφε.

10

4 ἰσιδώρου 5 l. κηναρίων μυριάδα 7 | \*ΠΠ, δ' 8 νομς, ἀργυρ | \*ΠΠ

'To my lord brother Dorotheus, Papnuthis. I want you to know that I received from Isidorus in the city one myriad of myriads and one thousand two hundred and fifty myriads of silver denarii, = 112,500,000 denarii, and through the guard six solidi and 165,000,000 silver denarii. I pray for your health for many years, lord brother.'

2 For γγινώσκειν vs. γινώσκειν see Gignac, *Phonology*, 176.

## 3400. LETTER FROM PARNUTHIS TO HIS LANDLORD

44 5B.63/(43-45)a

15.5 × 25 cm

c. 359-65

Papnuthis informs his γουθχος of various problems connected with collections in the village of Berky: the grain was full of barley, the measure available appears to have been of the wrong size, despite the villagers' protestations to the contrary, and two men who should have assisted have refused to do so. Papnuthis reports that a *praepositus* carrying out the collection with the help of soldiers was having no difficulty and asks whether he should follow that official's procedure.

Problems of this sort suggest that the grain Papnuthis was to collect was above all or exclusively for taxes, not simply rents due to his landlord, and indeed the list of

responsible persons had been furnished him by a municipal scribe of Oxyrhynchus, a circumstance which again points to public rather than private concern. The question then arises whether Papnuthis' landlord was personally responsible for these dues in his capacity as *possessor*, in which case he must have owned extensive territory about the village; or whether he was not in fact acting by virtue of some office which Papnuthis does not name, a view which his implied authority to commandeer soldiers very strongly favours. A combination of both grounds is not unthinkable, but the reference to 'the other *praepositus*' in 23 is most easily understandable if 'the landlord' for whom Papnuthis works was a *praepositus* too. Cf. 3396 introd.

The papyrus is in places torn and badly rubbed. A regrettably high number of passages remain obscure. As the letter was found among the papers of this archive, it was evidently never delivered. The approximate date is taken from other texts which mention a *praepositus* named Eulogius (30; cf. 3393 with introd. and note to line 20).

κρηίω μου γεούχω Παπνοῦτις  
χαίρειν.

καθώς ἐκέλευσάς μοι ἀπαντήσε εἰς Βερκὺ ἵνα  
παραλάβω τὸν σίτων αὐτῶν, εὐρὸν δὲ τὸν σίτον  
5 αὐτῶν ἐκ <κ>ριθῶν οὐκ ἐδυνήθη ὑποδέξαι ἀχρις  
λάβω παρὰ σοῦ ὄρον περὶ τούτου. τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα  
ἄπερ δέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ γραμμ[α]τεὺς τῆς πόλεως  
εὐρήθησαν διαφέρων τοῦ Ψινούρ καὶ Πραοῦς.  
οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ὁ Ψινούρ ἀπαιτῆσε μεθ' ἡμῶν  
10 τὰ ὀνόματα διαφέρωντα τῷ Π[ρ]αοῦ, λέγων ὅτι  
οὐκ ἔχω πρᾶγμα, οὐδὲ καὶ [δ] Πραοῦς οὐκ ἤλ-  
θεν ἀπαιτῆσε αὐτοὺς μεθ' ἡμῶν, λέγων  
ὅτι οὐ χοιλάζω. καὶ περὶ τοῦ μέτρ[ο]ν [α]ὐτῶν  
μαλαμ. εἰς καθὼς ὑποβάλλουσιν αὐτοὶ ὅτι ἴσον  
15 εἴ[ε]τῶν τοῦ κα<γ>κέλλου τῶν θημωσίον. μάθε δὲ ὅτι ὁ πρε-  
πόσιτος αὐτῶν τη, [ . . . c. 13 ] . . . ]νεκεν ἐρχό-  
μενος στρατιώτας τῆς [ . . . ] . . . ] καὶ ἀπετί αὐτοῖς  
ὡς βούλετε. λυπὸν, γράψον μοι [εἰ] θέλις με ὑπο-  
δέξαι περὶ τοῦ σίτου καὶ τοῦ μέτρον. τινὲς αὐτῶν

3 l. ἀπαντήσαι (for ἀπήνησαι); ἵνα 4 l. σίτων, εὐρὸν 5 l. αὐτῶν; ὑποδε 6 l. ὄρον  
7 l. γραμματεὺς 8 l. εὐρέθη διαφέροντα τῶν, Πραοῦ 9 l. ἀπαιτήσαι 10 l. διαφέροντα  
11 πραγ'μα' 12 l. ἀπαιτήσαι; θη of μεθ' ἡμῶν corrected 14 ἴσον 15 l. θημωσίον  
15-16 l. πραιπόσιτος 17 l. ἀπαιτεῖ αὐτοὺς 18 l. βούλεται, λοιπὸν, θέλις 18-19 ὑποδέξαι  
1 l. ὑποδέξαι 19 l. αὐτῶν

20 λέγουσιν ὅτι δευον μέτρησον, ἐὰν δὲ εὖρομεν  
ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀγνώμονες, λαμβάνομεν καὶ ἡμῖς  
στρατιώτας καὶ β. ελεύομεν αὐτούς. εἰ μὲν θέλις,  
ὡς καὶ ὁ ἕτερος πραιπόσιτος ὑποδέχῃ, καὶ ἡμῖς ὑπο-  
δέξομεν. ἀντίγραφῶ<ν> μοι ἐν τάχει ὡς βούλη.  
25 ποίησον δὲ τὸν δεσπότη<ν> μου γεούχω<ν> Εὐλόγιον  
γράψαι τῷ Ψινούρ ἀπειλὰς πολλὰς. εἰ μὲν δύνα-  
σαι ἀπαντῆσε ἐνταῦθα ἔσται π[ρ]ᾶγμα ὑποθη-  
[ . . . ]ν. ἐρρωσθαί σοι [εὐχό]μαι, κ[ί]υρίε μου] γεούχω.

Postscript on the back:

ὁ βωηθὸς Ἀπολλωνίου ἀρχὴν ἔβαλε . . . ε . . . . . λ . . . τοῦ μέτρον ὅς ἐ-  
30 μέτρησεν Εὐλόγιος πραιπόσιτος τῆς ἡμῶν παλι. μερίδος καὶ ἡ θέλις με  
ὑποδέξαι τῷ αὐτῷ μέτρῳ ἵνα π[α]ραδῶ τῷ [β]ω[η]θῶ] Ἀπολλωνίου καθὼς  
κελεύει  
ἀντίγραφόν μοι. οὕτως γὰρ καὶ ὁ βωηθὸς Ἀπολλωνίου συνέθετο μετ' αὐτοῦ  
καὶ χίρην  
αὐτῷ ἐπιδέδωκεν ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς ὄροις. ὁ γραμματεὺς δὲ τῆς κώμης Βερκὺ  
διέστειλέν  
μοι τὰ ὀνόματα καθὼς πρὸ τοῦ τελοῦντες.

Address:

35 ἀπόδ(ος) τῷ δεσπότη μου (design) γε[ο]ύχω.

21 l. ἀγνώμονας, ἡμῖς 22 l. θέλις 23 l. πραιπόσιτος; ὑποδεχῃ, 1. ὑποδέχαι, ἡμῖς  
24 l. ἀντίγραφον, τάχει 25 l. γεούχον Εὐλόγιον 26 l. ἀπειλὰς 27 l. ἀπαντῆσαι; π[ρ]ᾶγ'μα  
28 l. εἰ, γεούχε 29 l. βωηθὸς, ὡς 30 l. εἰ θέλις 31 l. ὑποδέξαι, βωηθῶ 32 l. βωηθὸς,  
χεῖρα 33 l. ὄροις, γραμματεὺς, διέστειλέν

'To my lord landlord, greeting from Papnuthis. I went to Berky to receive their grain just as you instructed me, but as I found that their grain consisted of barley I could not accept it before getting a ruling from you about it. The names which the municipal scribe gave us were discovered to fall under the jurisdiction of Psinour and Praous. Psinour did not want to collect with us the names which fall to Praous, saying "It's none of my business", and Praous also did not go to make the collection from them with us, saying "I haven't time". And concerning their measure . . . just as they submit that it is equal to the public *cancelus*. And you should know that their *praepositus* . . . (brought) soldiers when he came . . . and he collects from them as he pleases. In short, write to me about the grain and the measure if you want me to accept them. Some of them are saying, ". . . measure it, and if we find any of them who refuse to pay we too shall take soldiers and command (?) them." If you want, we too shall accept delivery on the same terms as the other *praepositus* does; write me back your wishes quickly. And make my lord landlord Eulogius write many threats to Psinour. If you can come here, there will be a piece of business to propose (?). I pray for your health, my lord landlord. (*Postscript*): Apollonius' assistant has begun . . . the measure in the same way as Eulogius, the *praepositus* of our . . . district did the measuring, and if you want me to accept delivery with the same measure so that I can turn (the grain) over to

Apollonius' assistant as he bids, write to me; for Apollonius' assistant agreed with him in that way and gave him a contract on those terms, but the scribe of the village Berky sent me the names just as they had been paying previously. (*Address*): Deliver to my master the landlord.<sup>3</sup>

3 ἀπαντήσε (l. -αι) is evidently a usage of the 'imperative infinitive' discussed by Mandilaras, *The Verb* §§ 756 ff., esp. § 763, though none of the examples he cites is altogether parallel to the passage here. The sentence would read more smoothly if ἀπήγησα had been written.

4 αὐτῶν: i.e., the inhabitants of Berky.

5 ἐκ <κ>ριθῶν: one could also interpret the letters as a misspelling of ἀκριθον, but Papputhis would hardly have hesitated to accept εἶτος on the ground that there was no barley in it: in the course of the fourth century εἶτος came to mean wheat as opposed to barley, and it was a normal requirement that wheat be delivered free of barley. See H. Cadell, *Münch. Beitr.* 66 (1974) 64-5 and *WB*, s.v. ἀκριθον.

7 γραμμ[α]τῆρος: the spelling is clear in l. 33; see Gignac, *Phonology*, 230-1. This seems much too late for the γραμματεὺς πόλεως as discussed by F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie* (Leipzig, 1917) 160 ff. Possibly we are to see in this γραμματεὺς the secretary of the city council of Oxyrhynchus, elsewhere called κρείβας. The discussion in A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (Toronto, 1971) 39-41 does not indicate that that official had access to tax rolls, but considering the activity of the council in tax matters it would seem almost inevitable that he would have had.

8 Psinour and Praous do not occur elsewhere in the archive, and their position is hard to determine. The fact that the names on the collection list 'belonged' or 'appertained' to them plainly did not mean that Papputhis was freed of responsibility for collecting from the persons listed, but only that he could normally have expected help in doing so. One might think of tax office assistants with somewhat less authority than Papputhis himself but not directly under his direction, or perhaps of such village officials as comarchs. Papputhis believed that another landlord of his could intimidate Psinour into working (26), but that does not bring us very far.—The name Psinour is not found in the *Namenbuch* or *Onomasticon*.

14 μάλαμ, εἰς: the word-division is presumably μάλα μ, εἰς or μάλ' αμ, εἰς; the sense may be 'you know well' or 'understand well' (imperative). -εἰς suggests a second person singular or an aorist passive construing with μάθε, but no suitable word occurs to me. μαβέεἰς is not a very likely form, and is palaeographically unconvincing as well. μανθάνεις may have been meant, but it was not written.

15 κα<γ>κέλλου: this designation for the official grain measure at Oxyrhynchus is attested from the early first century AD (XII 1447 4 n.) until late into the Byzantine period. The fullest recent sketch of Egyptian grain measures is by R. P. Duncan-Jones in *Chiron* 9 (1979) 347-75.

15-18 ὁ προπόσιτος αὐτῶν . . . ἀπερὶ αὐτοῖς ὡς βούλετε: compare the charge laid against the comarchs of Caranis in a petition to the prefect of Egypt, ἀπ[αι]τήσις (l. -εἰς) πεπολήγηται ὡς βούλονται, said to have been possible because of the collaboration of the *praepositus pagi* (P. Cair. Isid. 73. 5). In this papyrus, however, there is no obvious implication of wrong-doing. I presume that 'their *praepositus*' means the *praepositus* of the pagus in which Berky was located; cf. 3425 6-7 n. and 30 below.

16 As a word to govern στρατιώτας in 17 must somewhere be read it is possible that the end of the lacuna should be interpreted as ἦνε<γ>κεν or a compound of that verb. Omission of γ before κ is common (Gignac, *Phonology* p. 116), and this papyrus has another example of the phenomenon in κα<γ>κέλλου, 15. For the employment of soldiers in collecting taxes see R. MacMullen, *Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 1963), esp. pp. 60-2.

19 αὐτῶν apparently refers to other persons in Papputhis' party.

20 δεῦου: perhaps for δεῦρο, 'come', but probably the pen-stroke needed to change these letters to δέχου was omitted by accident.

ἐάν . . . εὐρωμεν: it would be easy to correct to εὐρωμεν, as Papputhis is wholly indifferent to the distinction between ο and ω, but the indicative may be right; cf. 3417 17 n.

22 β, ελεῖόμεν: perhaps {β} κελεύόμεν. The stray β seems odd in that case, but the scribe may have started to write βιαζόμεθα.

23-4 ὑποδέχι and ὑποδέξομεν must come from an active by-form of ὑποδέχομαι.

26 Both Psinour and Praous had refused to assist Papputhis, but only Psinour is to receive a warning. If this is not sheer forgetfulness on the part of Papputhis, it indicates that Praous' grounds for refusal were acceptable and Psinour's were not (ll. 10-13).

27-8 Perhaps ὑποθή[[ε]]ν in the sense of 'propose', though the supplement seems a bit short.

29 The thought appears to be 'Apollonius' assistant has begun to collect with the available measure, just as Eulogius did'.

30 πάλην seems unavoidable if λῆ is correct, but the word-order would be strange. Not πάλημ, 'our former division'.

32 αὐτοῦ: probably Apollonius, conceivably Eulogius.

33 For the other late references to village γραμματεῖς see XIX 2235 11 n., P. Cair. Isid. 68. 9 and 71. 10.

34 δνόματα . . . τελοῦντες: the names are plainly those of taxpayers, so τελοῦντες is construed *ad sensum*. Apparently Papputhis means that some comparatively recent change in the taxation rate or procedure had not yet found its way into the village rolls: it may be connected with the question of which measure was to be used.

35 The roughly drawn and much damaged design looks like a tall rectangle with three or four extra horizontals linking the long sides. It marks the place where the letter would have been tied and possibly sealed, cf. 3396 32 n.

## 3401. LETTER FROM DOROTHEUS TO PAPPUTHIS

44 5B.63/(82-85)d

8 × 10.5 cm

Fourth century

Dorotheus thanks his brother for the information that solidi might be had favourably from a certain Alexandrian. The tip has proved correct, and he now asks for money with which to buy some quickly, as a rumour that the *aurum tironicum* (cf. 3424 9 n.) is soon to be collected has created a special demand for gold coins and the price is rising daily.

On the back, written across the fibres, is a now almost wholly illegible letter which begins κυρίω μ[ου ἀ]δ[ελ]φ[ῶ]φ[ῶ] 2 Δωροθέω . . . [ 3 χαίρειν. Parts of 8 lines follow.

κυρίω μου ἀδελφῶ Παινουθίω

Δωροθέος χαίρειν.

κ[α]λῶς ἔγραψάς μοι περὶ τ[ῶ]ν

[ν]ομματαίων· ἐξήγησα γὰρ κ[α]λ[ῶ]

5 [ε]ἶδρον τὴν ποσότηταν παρὰ

[τῶ]ν Ἀλεξανδρεῶν ἐκ (δηναρίων) (μυριάδων) Ἄτυ[ ?

[ε]πο[ύ]δ[α]σον οὖν ἀπόστειλό

[μ]οι τὸ κέρμα ἐν τῇ αὔριον, ἐ-

[πε]περ γέγονεν φήμη περὶ

10 [το]ῦ χρυσοῦ τῶν τιρώνων κα[ὶ]

[π]ύγτες ζητῶ νομμι[α]τια

καὶ καθ' ἡμέρα<ν> ἀναβένυ ἢ

[τι]μῆ. ἀλλὰ ἐν τάχει ἀπόστειλο[ν]

[τῶ] κέρμα ἵνα ἀγοράσωμ[εν]

4 l. νομματαίων

6 l. Ἀλεξανδρεῖ

7 l. ἀπόστειλον

10 l. τιρώνων

11 l. ζητοῦσα

12 l. ἀναβαίνει

13 l. τάχει, ἀπόστειλον

14 ἵνα; l. ἀγοράσωμεν



'To my lord brother Papnuthis, greeting from Dorotheus. You did well to write to me about the solidi, for I inquired and found the quantity with the Alexandrian at 1,350 (+ ?) myriads of denarii. Make haste therefore to send me the money tomorrow, seeing that there has been a rumour about the gold for the recruits and everyone is looking for solidi and the price is going up every day. But send me the money quickly so that we can buy . . .'

5 [ε]ῥρον rather than ἦρον is the standard form in this archive. Cf. Mandilaras, *The Verb* § 266 (9). 5-6 παρά [τῷ] Ἀλέξανδρου: instead of τῷ it might be possible to read a short name, e.g. παρὰ [Ἡ]ρῶ. Α., but the text is more probable.

6 One more figure may have been lost at the end of the line, but in any case a price between 1,350 and 1,359 myriads of denarii. To judge from the few other rates quoted in this archive or other plainly contemporary texts, this is a very low figure: cf. 2,250 myriads in P. Osl. III 88. 19 and 3426 3, 2,020 myriads in IX 1223 29 ff., 2,000 myriads in P. Osl. III 162 (see 3402 4-5 n.). 3429 18 is still lower, working out to 1,245 myriads; but the same account also records a price of 3,245 myriads (24). For more general treatments of gold prices, see West and Johnson, *Currency* 158-70; R. Rémondon, *CE* 32 (1957) 130-46; J. Rea, *CE* 49 (1974) 163-74; XLIII 3121. Some more prices are cited in the Vienna texts published in *ZPE* 22 (1976) 97-106, which are apparently rather earlier than our archive. Cf. further the article 'Currency in the Fourth Century and the Date of CPR V 26' in *ZPE* 24 (1977) 111-24.

12-13 ἀναβένι ἢ [τι]μή: cf. IX 1223 32 for the corresponding use of καταβαίνω for falling prices.

## 3402. LETTER FROM DOROTHEUS TO PAPNUTHIS

44 5B.63/(68-69)b (back)

11 × 12.5 cm

Fourth century

The chief interest of this note from Dorotheus informing his brother that he has sent him some money under guard is the definition of *μονάς* in its rare use as a monetary term. On palaeographical grounds alone the reading is unfortunately ambiguous, but the choice rests between a myriad of denarii and a myriad of myriads. Only the last makes economic sense; cf. 4-5 n. On the other side is 3421.

κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ

Παπνουθίῳ Δωρόθεος χαί(ρειν).

ἀπέστειλα δι(ὰ) τοῦ φύλακος

χρυσῶ νο(μισμάτια) δ καὶ ἀργυρίου

5 μονάδων μία(ν), (δηναρίων) (μυριάδων ?) (μυριάδα) α, καὶ

φρο( ) Ἀλέξανδρος (δηναρίων) (μυριάδας) ,ε.

ἔρρωσθαι εὐχομαι

π[ο]λλοῖς χρόνοις.

1 l. κυρίῳ 2 l. Παπνουθίῳ; χαί(ρειν) 3 l. ἀπέστειλα; δι( ) 4 νο 5 ✱ ρ 6 ✱ ρ

'To my lord brother Papnuthis, greeting from Dorotheus. I have sent by agency of the guard 4 solidi in gold and one unit of silver, 1 myriad of myriads [i.e., 100,000,000] denarii, and by agency of the guard Alexandrus (?) 5,000 myriads of denarii. I pray for your health for many years.'

4-5 ἀργυρίου μονάδων: *μονάς* as a monetary unit has previously occurred in the papyri only in P. Osl. III 162. 3 and 6 and IX 1223 31. In the first of these texts, six *μονάδες* were used to purchase

thirty solidi. West and Johnson suggested on that basis that the *μονάς* was 'apparently a pound of silver bullion . . . indicating a ratio of gold to silver of 1 to 14.4.' (*Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, Princeton, 1944, p. 131). The other text gives no clue to the meaning, but ours restates the sum in myriads of denarii. Regrettably, the papyrus is broken away immediately after the denarius sign: the trace which I have interpreted as the remnant of (*μυριάδων*) could also, though somewhat less well, be explained as a descending central cross stroke from (*δηναρίων*). But if a *μονάς* were no more than a single myriad, as that view would require, then P. Osl. 162 (which is almost certainly part of this archive) would show solidi being sold at only 2,000 denarii apiece. As that is approximately a ten-thousandth of the expected price at the period (cf. 3401 6 n.), only the reading printed is plausible.

6 φρο( ) Ἀλέξανδρος: perhaps φρο(υρός) Ἀλέξανδρος, i.e. διὰ τοῦ φρουροῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου.

7 ἔρρωσθαι εὐχομαι: some other examples of this formula without *εε* or *ὄμας* are collected in F. Ziemann, *De epistularum graecarum formulis sollemnibus quaestiones selectae* (Diss. Halle, 1910) 336 n. 1.

## 3403. LETTER FROM MARIA TO PAPNUTHIS

44 5B.63/(35-38)b

10 × 26 cm

Fourth century

A rather whiny letter to Papnuthis from his mother, complaining of neglect and asking for money. The hand is crabbed and difficult to decipher.

κυρίῳ μου νίῳ [Πα]πνουθίῳ

ἢ μήτηρ Μαρία πλείστα χαίρειν.

πάλιν ἐνέμηνας τῇ ἀμελίᾳ τῇ σῆ καὶ

οὐκ ἔπεμψάς μοι φ[ι]λ[α]κίῳ περὶ ὧν

5 σοὶ ἐνετελάμεθα. κ[α]λῶς οὖν ποιή-

σης πέμψαι μοι τ[ὴ] ἀργύρια. καὶ ἡ σῆ

σύμβιος λέγει καὶ αὐτῇ ἵνα ἀποστῆλης

αὐτῇ ἀργύρια εἰς μισθοῦς τῶν

λαναρίων. ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀμελήῃς καὶ

10 διὰ ταχέων πέμψης αὐτά. σπου-

δακον γράψαι ὑμῖν περὶ τοῦ

ἔργου. ἔρρωσθαι εε

πολλοῖς χρόνοις

εὐχομαι.

Back: illegible remains of an address in one line.

3 l. ἐνέμηνες 5 l. ἐνετελάμεθα 7 l. λέγει, ἀποστῆλης 8 μισ corrected from λανα  
11 l. ὑμῖν

'To my lord son Papnuthis from his mother Maria, greeting. You have again been persisting in your neglect and have sent me no word concerning the matters I instructed you about. Therefore please send me the money. Your wife too says herself that you should send her money for the wages of the wool-workers. Do not be negligent, but send it quickly. Make haste to write to us about the work. I pray for your health for many years.'

5-6 κ[α]λῶς οὖν ποιήσης πέμψαι: cf. P. Abinn. 21. 5-6, καλῶς ποιήσης . . . ἀπαυτήσαι; Mandilaras, *The Verb* §§ 756 ff.

## 3404. LETTER FROM HIERACION TO PARNUTHIS

44 5B.63/(60-62)a

7.5 × 24.5 cm

Fourth century

Hieracion instructs Parnuthis to pay some money that he owes him to his 'brother' Diogenes, whom Hieracion is sending on purpose to fetch it. Parnuthis is further to ask whether Heras intends to pay the value of some chaff (as opposed, presumably, to delivering the chaff itself in kind for taxes), and, if he does, to have this money too turned over to Diogenes. This last transaction, according to Hieracion, will be advantageous for Heras; but it does not appear whether he means that the *adaeratio* had been fixed at a particularly low rate, simply that it was a convenient way for Heras to meet his liabilities, or whether he had something else in mind. Parnuthis is reminded concerning his own debt that Hieracion would not have offered certain cloaks without a report from Parnuthis. That sounds as though they had been given up in pledge, but apparently not to Parnuthis, so the nature of the arrangement is not very clear.

The writing runs across the fibres and the back is blank except for some small blots of ink.

Ἱερακίων Παπνου-  
θίῳ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.  
ἀπέστειλα πρὸς <ε> τὸν  
ἀδελφόν μου Διογένην  
5 ἵνα τὸ ἀργύριον αὐτῷ  
δῶς ἐκ πλήρους·  
παρήγγυλα γὰρ αὐτῷ  
ὅτι εἴαν μὴ τὸ πᾶν μη-  
δὲν λάβῃς. οἶδες  
10 γὰρ ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἦς προ-  
φωνήσας οὐκ εἶδω(ν)  
τὰς χλαμύδας. καὶ πύθρου  
τοῦ Ἡρᾶ εἰ δίδωσι τῆν  
τιμὴν τοῦ ἀχύρου·  
15 συνφέρει γὰρ αὐτῷ· ἤδη δὲ  
δίδω, δότω Διογένει[ε].  
ἐρρώσθαι σε εὖχο(μαι).

3 l. ἀπέστειλα  
15 l. συμφέρει, εἴαν

5 ἵνα; 1. αὐτῷ  
16 l. δίδω

7 παρηγγυλα, 1. παρήγγυλα

9 l. οἶδας

11 εἶδω

## 3404. LETTER FROM HIERACION TO PARNUTHIS

'Hieracion to his brother Parnuthis, greeting. I have sent to you my brother Diogenes so that you can give him the money in full; for I have told him "If you don't get the full sum, don't take anything." For you know that if you had not reported I would not have given the cloaks. And find out from Heras whether he is giving the value of the chaff. For it is to his advantage, and if he gives it, let him give it to Diogenes. I pray for your health.'

5 ἀτῷ for αὐτῷ: see Gignac, *Phonology*, 226-8.

10-11 εἰ μὴ ἦς προφωνήσας οὐκ εἶδω(ν): for the construction cf. B. Mandilaras, *The Verb*, §§ 519-24, esp. § 523.

## 3405. ORDER FROM HORION TO PARNUTHIS

44 5B.63/(39-42)b

10.5 × 7 cm

c. 360

A clumsily written and clumsily phrased note from Horion that Parnuthis is to pay 200 myriads of denarii to a cook named Macarius, to complete the total of 360 due him. A comparable order from Horion is 3391, which is signed in the same hand as 3405, though the bodies of the texts are different. He is also the author of a letter to Dorotheus, 3412.

This Horion is doubtless the *praepositus pagi* of 3392 9. He addresses Parnuthis as his 'assistant' in 3391 but as his 'brother' in 3405. It seems improbable that this difference reflects a change in the relative status of the men, for Parnuthis is on general grounds unlikely ever to have become approximately the social equal of so important an official as a *praepositus pagi*, and he clearly functions as an underling in this text no less than in 3391. 3407 18 probably gives another example of ἀδελφός used in addressing social inferiors; cf. *WB*, s.v. 6.

A very faded document on the back may be another order to pay.

Ἱερῶν Παπνουτίῳ ἀδελφῷ χ(αίρειν).  
παράσχου Μακαρίῳ μαγειρῶ εἰς  
κοι<μ>πλήρων τῶν τριακοσίων ἐξήκον-  
τα καὶ νοῖν παράσχου διακοσίας,  
5 (δηναρίων) (μυριάδας) ε" μόνας. Ἱερῶν σε(σημειώμαι).

1 1st ω in Ἱερῶν corrected from α 3 l. συμπλήρων 4 l. νῶν 5 × Ϟ

'Horion to his brother Parnuthis, greeting. Supply to Macarius the cook, to make up the three hundred and sixty (myriads of denarii), even now supply two hundred, 200 myriads of denarii, only. I, Horion, have signed.'

## 3406. LETTER FROM CLEMATIA TO PARNUTHIS

44 5B.63/(50-53)c

15 × 12 cm

Fourth century

Some instructions from the landlady to her caretaker, written with a thick pen and rather smeared. The words *σιτόφακον* (4) and *μελικηρίδιον* (11) seem to be new.

π(αρά) Κληματίης γεούχου  
 Παπνουτίου προνοητή *Σαδάλου χαίρειν.*  
 παραμέτρησον εἰς τὸ πακτωνᾶριν Παγᾶτος  
 5 *σιτωφάκον ἀρτάβας ἕξ" ἔν' ἔχομεν ὠθεῖ,*  
 καὶ βοήθησον Παγᾶ ἔν' ἔχομεν ἐκὶ ἑκ-  
 τακτα τῆ(ς) τρύγης, καὶ πείρα καὶ ἔρεον  
 ἀνένικον διὰ τοῦ πάκτωνος καὶ μὴ ἀ-  
 μελήρηται διὰ τὴν ὀκτώπλιθον.  
 10 καὶ ἀπέτρησον τὸν Παῦμι(ν) τὰ δύο κερά-  
 μα τοῦ μέλιτος διὰ τὴν ἰορτὴν  
 καὶ τὰ μελικηρίδια καὶ Παγᾶν τὸ ἔρεον.

Back: illegible remains of an address in one line.

2 l. Παπνουτίω 3 l. πακτωνᾶριον 4 l. σιτοφάκον, ἔχομεν 5 l. ἔχομεν, ἐκεῖ  
 6 l. ἔριον 7 l. ἀνένικον 7-8 l. ἀμελήρηται 8 ν of τὴν written over ο?; l. ὀκτώπλιθον  
 9 l. ἀπαίτησον 10 l. ἰορτὴν 11 l. μελικηρίδια, ἔριον

'From Clematia, landlady, to Parnuthis, caretaker at Sadalu, greeting. Measure out six artabas of wheat and lentils into Pagas' skiff so that we may have it here, and assist Pagas so that we may have the extra payments of the vintage there, and try also to bring wool up with the boat, and do not delay because of the baked brick. And collect from Paymis the two ceramias of honey for the festival as well as the honeycakes (or -combs), and from Pagas the wool.'

5-6 *ἑκτακτα* were extra payments in kind that lessees presented to their landlords in addition to rental proper. Arrangements to give such were common in rentals of vineyards, and that fits *τρύγη* here, but what Clematia means in detail remains obscure.

7 For *ἀνένικον* = *ἀνένεγκον* cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb*, § 683, 2.

7-8 *ἀμελήρηται*: Parnuthis had an associate named Hatres (3407). Clematia is more probably thinking of them both than using a plural of respect to Parnuthis alone.

8 *ὀκτώπλιθον*: of the words which begin with πλ- only *πλίνθος* is likely to be the second element of this compound. The omission of the first ν would be commonplace in these texts: then Rea's suggestion *ὀπτόπλιθον* is hard to resist. Confusion of κ and π is certainly not common, but Gignac cites some examples of *κροκέιμενον* for *προκέιμενον* (*Phonology*, 68).

10 *ἰορτὴν*: for other examples of this spelling see Gignac, *Phonology*, 249.

11 καὶ Παγᾶν τὸ ἔρεον: governed by *ἀπέτρησον* in 9.

## 3407. LETTER FROM THE LANDLADY TO PARNUTHIS AND HATRES

44 5B.63/(5-7)a

8.5 × 25 cm

Fourth century

A landlady, perhaps the Clematia of 3406, instructs her *προνοητής* Parnuthis and her *φροντιστής* Hatres to have some rock hauled for her 'brothers' Nepotianus and

Diogenes. Nepotianus occurs only here in the archive; whether Hatres and Diogenes are to be identified with other men of the same name in other documents is uncertain. Line 16 contains the earliest papyrological reference to Sunday as the Lord's Day (*κυριακή*), though the term *ἡμέρα ἡλίου* is attested in AD 327 (cf. XLIV 3174 17 n.; the text of the wooden tablet referred to there—really two tablets—is no. 17b in E. Ziebarth, *Aus der antiken Schule*, ed. 2, Bonn, 1913. For the date see *BASP* 17 (1980) 17). Traces of ink on the back may come from an address, but a tear has removed too much to allow a reading. The absence of any closing formula is remarkable.

π(αρά) τῆς γεούχου Παπνουθίω  
 προ(νοητή) καὶ Ἀτρῆ φρ(οντιστή) χ(αίρειν).  
 σπουδάσεται τὸν ταυρε-  
 λάτην μετὰ τῶν μόσχων  
 5 καὶ τοῦ ζυγοῦ καὶ σχοινίω(ν)  
 αὐτῶν ἐξελάσει ἐν τῇ  
 σήμερον εἰς τὸ ἡμέτερον  
 ἐποίκιον Ἀκιδόνου πρὸς  
 κύρην λίθου τῶν κυρί-  
 10 ων μου ἀδελφῶν Νεπω-  
 τianoῦ καὶ Διογένους· οἶδα-  
 τε καὶ ὑμῖς ὅτι οὐκ ἴσιν ξέ-  
 νοι. ἀλλὰ πάντως ἐν  
 τῇ σήμερον, ἐπειδὴ συν-  
 15 ἔθεντο βαστάξαι ἐν τῇ  
 κυριακῇ(ν) ἡμέρα, τουτ-  
 ἔστιν αὔριον ια-  
 μὴ οὖν, ἀδελφοί, δόξητε  
 ἀμελήσει καὶ ἐνδρευθῆ  
 20 τὸ ἔργον τῶν ἀνθρώ-  
 πων, ἐμέναν δὲ οὐκ ὀλί-  
 γην ὑβριν προσηρέγκα-  
 τε. περὶ δὲ τοῦ τροχοῦ  
 ἀρκετοί ἐστε. ἐν τῇ αὔριον  
 25 ὁ ἀδελφός Λούκιος ἀπαντᾷ  
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

1 π' 2 προῶ φρς 3 l. σπουδάσατε 4 σχοινιά 6 l. ἐξελάσαι 12 l. ὑμεῖς,  
 εἰς 19 l. ἀμελήσει 21 ἐμέναν = ἐμοί

'From the landlady to Papnuthis, caretaker, and Hatres, foreman, greeting. Make haste to send out the bull-driver together with the bullocks, the yoke, and their ropes today to our farmstead which is named after Akindynus to haul rocks for my brothers Nepotianus and Diogenes: you know yourself they are no strangers. But by all means do so today, as they have agreed to take them away on Sunday, that is, tomorrow, the 11th. Therefore, brothers, do not decide to delay, with the result that the work of the men would be hindered and you would bring me no little distress. As for the wheel, you are sufficient [i.e., can settle the matter on your own authority?]. Tomorrow brother Lucius is coming to you.'

8 *ἐποίκιον* Ἀκινδύνου: not otherwise known.

15-16 *τῆ κυριακῆ* ἡμέρα: the only examples of *κυριακή* 'Sunday' cited in the *WB* come from the sixth century. In later publications I have found *κυριακή* only in SB X 10657. 5, dated on palaeographic grounds to the fifth century; but the context does not show what the word means there. Note that it is not yet used substantively here.

It should perhaps be remarked that the performance of heavy labour on Sunday had not yet been forbidden by either the state or the church. Constantine's edict of 321 requiring cessation of most business on the  *venerabili die solis* explicitly excluded agricultural workers (*Cod. Just.* 3, 12, 2(3)). A Sunday of rest for all was not decreed by the church till 585 (*Concilium Matisconense* § 1, in *Mon. Germ. Hist., Legum Sectio III Concilia* I, pp. 165-6). Identification of Sunday with the Sabbath first appears in Carolingian times. See e.g. *Realenzyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*<sup>8</sup>, xviii 521 ff.

18 It is noteworthy that the writer does not hesitate to address two employees as *ἀδελφοί*. A trace of her Christianity, a sign that their social ranks were indeed about equal, or simply common usage? Cf. 3405 introd.

18-20 *μὴ . . . δόξητε ἀμελήσει καὶ ἐνεδρευθῆ τὸ ἔργον*: for the construction cf. e.g. P. Cair. Masp. I 67078. 8, *μὴ ἀμελήσεις τοῦτο καὶ λημωθῆ τὰ γενήματα*. See H. Ljungvik, *Beiträge zur Syntax der spätgriechischen Volkssprache* (Uppsala-Leipzig, 1932) 61-7.

21-3 *ἐμέναν . . . ὕβριν προσνήγκατε* standing by itself should mean 'you have caused me distress', but the context here requires 'you would cause me distress'. Possibly, then, one should correct to *προσενέγκητε*, but more probably the construction is acceptable folk idiom as it stands. *ἐμέναν* could also be divided *ἐμέν ἄν*, but the word order would be peculiar, and *ἄν* was not used with *ἐνεδρευθῆ* above.

## 3408. LETTER FROM CHAEREMON TO DOROTHEUS

44 5B.60/C(26-28)a

9.5 × 27 cm

Fourth century

Besides the present text, Dorotheus' 'father' Chaeremon wrote 3409-10, and very probably P. Osl. III 88; cf. p. 76. He apparently held a position superior to that of Dorotheus in the collection of taxes, as his letters are full of requests and demands, some of which sound unrealistic, if they were meant in seriousness. The possibility that he was a *praepositus pagi* should not be discounted. He does not make that impression, but we have little to judge by. His style is vigorously colloquial, and the content of his correspondence is of more than usual interest. Despite his reference to Dorotheus as *νιός* he is not among the persons whom Papnuthis greets by name in 3396.

κυρίω μου νιῶ

Δωροθέω Χαιρήμων.

[ε]πουδάσαν ἐν τῇ σήμερο(ν)

Βαροῦσιν τὸν σύμμαχον

5 ἢ ἄλλον εἰς Ψῶσθιν τοὺς

4 συμμαχοῦς

## 3408. LETTER FROM CHAEREMON TO DOROTHEUS

καμάρχας ἀνεέκκε, καὶ  
τοὺς τιτολόγους τῆς λοι-  
πάδος τῶν κριθῶν καὶ  
τοὺς ἐπὶ σιππίου τῆς Ταμ-  
10 πεμοῦ ἀπόστειλον φέρον-  
τες τὸ σιππίον καὶ τὸ ἀνα-  
βολικὸν καὶ τὸ πρωτίον  
καὶ τοὺς τιτολόγους τῶν  
κριθῶν. σπούδασον δὲ τὸν  
15 ὀλοκόττινον τῶν κριθῶ(ν)  
λαβὼν παρὰ τῶν ὑπευθύνων  
καὶ ἀποσ(τ)ίλε, καὶ τὰ ἀργύρια τῆς  
Ἰνδίας τῆ κεφαλ(ῆ) σὺν ἀλλαγῆς  
(δηναρίων) (μυριάδας) μ, (γίνονται) (δην.) (μυρ.) ,Ερκ, καὶ λοιπὸν  
20 τὸ βαρύτατον τῆς ἀπετήσειας  
πάσης τῶ(ν) χρυσὸν καὶ τὰ ἀνώ-  
μ[α]ς κ[α]ί εἴπερ ἔργον ποιῶσι τὸ  
ἀπ[α]ιτηθῆν ἀπόστειλον. ἔπιξον  
τοὺς τιτολόγους τὸν εἶτον ἐν-  
25 κλίσει ἄχρι κόκκου καὶ τοὺς  
ἀπὸ Κατύρου. μνήσθητι πάσης  
τῆς καθολικότητος. ἐρῶσθαι  
σε εὖχομαι.

Postscript on the back:

τὰς ἀποχὰς τοῦ λίνου τῆς Ταμπεμοῦ  
30 καὶ τὰ ἐντάγια Μέλανος ἀπόστειλον.

Address on the back:

× ×  
κυρίω μου νιῶ × × Δωροθέω  
× × Χαιρήμων  
× ×  
× ×  
× ×  
× ×

6 l. ἀνεέγκαι  
19 ✕ Ϛ, /✕ Ϛ

10-11 ἀπόστειλον φέροντας  
20 l. ἀπατήσεως 23 l. ἀπόστειλον, ἔπειξον

15 ὀλοκοττινον, κριθῶ  
24 l. ἐγκλείσει

17 l. ἀποστειλαί  
30 l. ἀπόστειλον

'To my lord son Dorotheus, Chaeremon. Speed Barusis the guard or someone else to Psobthis today to bring up the comarchs, and send the sitologi for the arrears of barley and the men in charge of tow at Tampemu bringing the tow, and the anabolicum, and the proteion, and the sitologi of the barley. And make haste to receive the solidus for the barley from the responsible persons and to send it, and also the silver money for India, 40 myriads of denarii per head including exchange, comes to 5,120 myriads of denarii, and finally the most burdensome part of the whole collection, the gold and the annonae, and if they are working send what has been collected. Make the sitologi lock up the grain to the last kernel, and (press) the men from Satyru. Bear in mind the full amount due for the catholicus. I pray for your health. (Postscript): Send the receipts for the flax from Tampemu and the chits of Melas. (Address): To my lord son Dorotheus, Chaeremon.'

3-6 [ς]πούδαρον . . . ἀνεέκκε: in the context of this archive, it is much more likely that this means the guard is to be sent to Psobthis in order to bring the comarchs from there to Oxyrhynchus, than that the comarchs of some unnamed village are to be brought by the guard to Psobthis: see 3423 1-3 n.

4 Barusis the *symmachos* is presumably identical with the *phrouros* of 3409 3. The name is not listed in the *NB* or *Onomasticon*. On *symmachoi* see the commentary to P. Cair. Isid. 80.

6 ἀνεέκκε (l. ἀνεέγκαι): for other examples of the assimilation of γ before κ in Chaeremon's letters see 3409 18 and 27; cf. Gignac, *Phonology*, 171-2.

7-8 *σιτολόγους τῆς λοιπάδος τῶν κριθῶν*: sitologi remained responsible for the grain which was to be collected during their term of office until the entire amount due had been collected, even if this required several years; see e.g. P. Cair. Isid. p. 16.

10-13 ἀπέστειλον φέροντες . . . *σιτολόγους*: in this list of taxes and persons to be sent, *σιτολόν* is object of φέροντες while *σιτολόγους* again depends directly on ἀπέστειλον. Which verb governs ἀναβολικόν and πρωτίον is unclear, but an immediate reversion to ἀπέστειλον would raise the fewest problems of interpretation.

11 The ἀναβολικόν in Egypt is known to have been collected in linen, in tow, in finished articles of clothing, and in money; that collectors of tow should here be required to bring ἀναβολικόν with them would therefore be understandable, but ἀναβολικόν may be the object of ἀπέστειλον rather than of φέροντες. According to the *Historia Augusta*, *anabolicae species* were part of the *vectigal ex Aegypto* established for the city of Rome by Aurelian (*Vita Aureliani* xlv 1). There is a good bibliography on the tax in Lallemand, *L'Administration civile*, 191-2; cf. also A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, 70-4.

12 Apart from the doubtful possibility of P. Ross.-Georg. III 6. 2 and 5, a tax called πρωτίον is otherwise known only from SB V 7756. 4 and 16 (Oxyrhynchus, 27 September 359). In that text, as here, πρωτίον is paid together with ἀναβολικόν, but both charges there are to be paid in money, while our papyrus presumably refers to a charge in kind. If the word is to be construed with φέροντες rather than with ἀπέστειλον it must have fallen within the competence of collectors of tow. SB V 7756 contrasts πρωτίον with δευτερίον. Otherwise there is no real clue to its meaning. Johnson and West suggested translating 'first instalment' (*Byzantine Egypt*, p. 266).

13-14 τοὺς *σιτολόγους τῶν κριθῶν*: it is not clear to me whether this amounts to a repetition of the request for τοὺς *σιτολόγους τῆς λοιπάδος τῶν κριθῶν* (7-8) or refers to a different group of sitologi.

14-15 τὸν *ὀλοκόττωνον τῶν κριθῶν*: I find no other mention of this charge. It may indeed be nothing more than an *adaeratio* on some of the barley due, but it is tempting to see in it an extra tax of some sort, comparable perhaps to the 5½ denarii per artaba shipping fee plus 1 denarius per modius collected on barley in P. Cair. Isid. 47.

17-18 τὰ ἀργύρια τῆς Ἰνδίας: a head-tax for ναῦται Ἰνδίας is attested in SB V 7756. 8 and 17, at a rate doubtfully read as 56 myriads per contributor; see H. I. Bell's note to the editio princeps, *Mélanges Maspero* ii 109-10.

18 ἐν ἀλλαγῆς: it seems simplest to take this as a reference to money-changing fees of some kind, but two other possibilities should also be considered. (a) A tax receipt of the Arabic period includes a payment λόγῳ ἀλλαγῆς(ς) να(ν)ών, 'for a relay of sailors' (*APF* 5, 1913, p. 190, l. 10). If sailors are involved in 3408 as well as in SB 7756, then 'money for India, including a crew' may be the meaning. (b)  *συναλλαγῆς* appears as a monetary term in some sixth-century papyri: see West and Johnson, *Currency*, 148-50 and P. Mich. XIII 662. 31 note. That suggests the possibility of reading  *συναλλαγῆς* (δηναρίων), 'denarii of *synallage*', a construction which would avoid assuming a genitive after ἐν (but cf. 3384 11 n.) and might mean 'at the current rate of exchange'.

19 If each contributor paid 40 myriads, then 5,120 myriads due fell on a group of 128 persons (adult male population of Psobthis?).

21 τὸ(ν) χροσόν: Chaeremon's letters are elsewhere accurate in the use of nus, so possibly τὸ χροσόν should be kept uncorrected as a neuter by-form; cf. e.g. 3423 5 with note. For a list of early Byzantine taxes in gold see Lallemand, *L'Administration civile*, 204-5; cf. 3397 22 and 3423 5 and 7.

21-2 ἀνάψ[α]: the chief land tax in kind. See for Egypt especially Karayannopoulos, *Finanzwesen*, 94-112, and for the empire in general A. Cérati, *Caractère annonaire et assiette de l'impôt foncier au Bas-Empire* (Paris, 1975).

22 ἔργον: not ἔλεον or ἔρπον. The sense is apparently that if the collectors have not finished their work yet, nevertheless whatever they have already brought in is to be turned over to Chaeremon immediately.

25 ἄχρι κόκκου: cf. P. Beatty Panop. 2. 110, ἄ]χρι ξέστου ἐνός.

25-6 τοὺς ἀπὸ Κατύρου is governed by ἐπίξον in 23.

27 For καθολικότης in the sense used here cf. 3423 19-20 n.

31-2 For the purpose of the design cf. 3396 32 n. This one has no lines parallel with the ligature, but only the remains of a lattice-work pattern over it, cf. 3409 29-30 n.

## 3409. LETTER FROM CHAEREMON TO DOROTHEUS

44 5B.63/(55)a

12.5 × 25.5 cm

Fourth century

The background of this letter seems to be as follows. Some time previously, a group of comarchs from Tampemu had come up to Chaeremon in Oxyrhynchus, presumably in response to such orders as we hear about in 3397 and 3423. At the end of their visit, they had been instructed to leave the city, presumably in order that they should go back to their village and carry out their responsibilities in the collection of taxes. Some other comarchs, however, were being held under arrest; and two of those from Tampemu objected so vigorously to co-operating till these men had been released that Chaeremon had them arrested too. Now Chaeremon writes that he has been searching for those comarchs who had remained free, and, not finding them in the city, he had supposed that they were with Dorotheus, who apparently is now in Tampemu; but a guard freshly come from Dorotheus reports that the comarchs are not with him. Chaeremon therefore asks Dorotheus to try to learn the whereabouts of the comarchs, and if they should still be in the city out of protest against the arrest of their comrades, then the wives of the prisoners are to be sent up to take their husbands' places. Cf. perhaps XVI 1835.

Besides the address, the back of the letter has the following notes, which may refer to the *tabularius* of 3411: Χωσῆτος (δηναρίων) (μυριάδες) ν. | 2 ὁμοίος (l. -ως) (δην.) (μυρ.) χ.

For Chaeremon see 3408.

κυρίῳ μου νῖῶ Δωροθέῳ

Χαιρήμων.

τοῦ φρουροῦ Βαρούσιος ἀπαντή-

σαντος πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ εἶπέν μοι

5 εἶναι π[α]ρὰ σοὶ καὶ ἐξήτασα αὐτὸν  
περὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Ταμπεμοῦ ἐπιδή ἐξή-

τησα τοὺς κωμάρχας ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ

10 δύο τοὺς κατακλίτους καὶ ἴγῳ ἐνόμι-

ζον αὐτ[ο]ὺς ἐκβάντας καὶ ἐξήτασ[α]

αὐτὸν καὶ ἔπεν μὴ ἴναι παρὰ σοί. εἶπν  
οὖν μάθης ὅτι οὐκ ἐξέβησαν ἀλλ[α]

15 ἔτι ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως αὐτοὺς ἴναι καὶ ἐᾶ[ν]

μάθης τὸ ἔτιον διὰ τί οὐκ ἐξέβη-

σαν καὶ ἡ ἢ πρόφασις αὐτῆ, τὸ κα-

τακλίσει με δύο ὅτι οὐκ ἔκβενον

εἰ μὴ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀπολυθῶσι, τὰς γ[υ]-

20 νόκας αὐτῶν ἀνέεκκον ἐπὶ τ[ῆ]ν]

πόλιν καὶ ἔνκλιον εἶνα οἱ ἄρσε-

νες ἀπολυθῶσι, ὥστε νομίζω

εἰ μὴ μωρὰ μωροῖς τῆ ἐκ[ή]α ς[ο]ν

περιπα. . .ων· εἰ δὲ τὸ ἔργον οὐδεύ-

ει παρὰ σοὶ κὰν μὴ ἐκβῶσι ἀπαί-

25 τησον. γράψον μοι οὖν περὶ τού-

του· ἡ γὰρ ψελλίς τοῦ λάκκου μου ἔπε-

σειν καὶ .[.]ιλος με διώκει κα[ὶ] διὰ τῆν

ἀνάγκην ἐξέβην. ἐρρώσθαί [σε] εὐ-

χομαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις.

Address on the back:

30 κυρίῳ μου νῖῶ × Δωροθέῳ

× × Χαιρήμων

× ×

× ×

1 ἴνω 6 l. ἐπειδή 9 l. κατακλίτους 11 l. εἶπεν, εἶναι 13 l. εἶναι 14 l. αἴτιον  
15 l. εἰ ἡ 15-16 2nd κ in κατακλίσει corrected from β; 1. κατακλίσει 16 l. ἔκβενον = ἐξέβανον  
17-18 l. γυναῖκας 18 l. ἀνέεγκον 19 l. ἴνα 21 ο in μωροῖς corrected from ς, τ in τῆ corr.  
from ο; 1. αἰκία 26 l. διώκει 27 l. ἀνάγκην

'To my lord son Dorotheus, Chaeremon. The guard Barusis came to me and told me that he was in your service, so I asked him about the people from Tampemu, as I looked for the comarchs in the city and found only the two that were locked up and I supposed they had left, so I asked him and he said they were not with you. If, then, you find out that they have not left but are still in the city, and if you find out the reason why they have not left, and if that reason is the very fact that I locked up two of them because they would not leave unless the others were released, send their wives to the city and lock them up so that the males can be released, as I suppose—unless (this is ?) foolishness for fools—that with your torment (I shall get the best of them?). But if the work is getting along with you even if they don't leave make the collection. Write to me about this matter then; for the vault (?) of my well has collapsed and NN is prosecuting me and I have been forced to leave. I pray for your health for many years. (Back): To my lord son Dorotheus, Chaeremon.'

3 For Barusis see 3408 4 n. There is more ink at the end of the line than needed for ἀπαντη- alone. Probably a false start was made on the following sigma.

9 καὶ ἴγῳ for καὶ ἔγῳ: see Gignac, *Phonology* 319.

16 ἔκβενον: for other examples of the omission of augment in compound verbs see Mandilaras, *The Verb*, § 250.

21 εἰ μὴ μωρὰ μωροῖς: that 'a fool talks nonsense' was proverbial (cf. Eur. *Bacchae* 369, μῶρα . . . μῶρος λέγει, LXX Isaiah 32. 6, ὁ γὰρ μωρὸς μωρὰ λαλήσει); further the Latin *quasi stultus stultis persuadere*, A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*, Leipzig 1890, reprint Hildesheim 1962, p. 333. But the point of the collocation here is not clear. Does he mean 'the comarchs are fools, and so we must treat them as such', or 'this plan ought to work, unless I am being foolish in giving orders to people too incompetent to carry them out'?

ἐκ[ή]α: no papyrological examples of *αἰκία* seem to have come to light since the publication of *WB I*, but cf. 3430 24-5 n. What Chaeremon hopes to accomplish 'by means of the punishment you can inflict' should be expressed by the infinitive in 22, but I can find no attested word that will do. As a new coinage, *περιπατήσεων* would make sense and fit the traces. A quite different line of interpretation would be to take ἐκ[ή]α as a misspelling of οἰκία, and seek to read *περιπατήσεων* in 22, that is, 'I expect to profit your household'; but ἐκ[ή]α = οἰκία is extreme, and *περιπατήσεων* was almost surely not written.

25 ψελλίς: this form apparently recurs only in P. Ross.-Georg. II 33. 4, ἀν δὲ γένηται εἰ[ς] . c. 12 ]κου ἢ ψελλίδος; our text suggests that the last word in lacuna may have been λάκ[κ]ου. Of the various meanings *LSJ* records for ψαλίς, those referring to vaulted enclosures seem relevant (s.v., II), but none is sufficient to explain what is meant here. The brick section of the well above the ground, perhaps, or a rounded sun-shade? Cf. PIFAO II 12. 9 n. and *REG* 91 (1978) 1-11.

26 Possibly Ζ[ο]ιδος.

29-30 For the design cf. 3396 32 n., 3408 31-2 n.

## 3410. LETTER FROM CHAEREMON TO DOROTHEUS

44 5B.60/C(1-3)a

9 × 27 cm

Fourth century

The greater part of this text is very badly preserved, but those lines which have survived reasonably well are not without interest. The price of barley cited in 17, 225 myriads of denarii per artaba, indicates a date late in the fourth century, as comparative figures show: cf. 13 talents 500 denarii = 2 myriads per artaba in AD 338 (I 85 = *Sel. Pap.* II 332(b). 17), 30 tal. = 4½ myr. some time near the middle of the century (P. Abinn. 43. 13-16), 600 tal. = 90 myr. in AD 372 (SB VI 9603(c) = P. Col. VII 184. 10-12), and 500 tal. = 75 myr. (SB VI 9603(a) = P. Col. VII 182. 9-12; the text's date of 372 has been thought an error for 373 (*CE* 50 (1975) 288-9), but cf. P. Col. VII pp. 201-2). Whether the SB prices prove that 3410 was written after

AD 372/3 is questionable, as those figures are for sales of barley with deferred delivery. If the thesis of a recent study of such texts is correct, the expected market price will have been higher, in this case most probably 135 and 112½ myriads (see R. S. Bagnall, *GRBS* 18 (1977) 85–96); and if comparison with wheat prices in the early empire is legitimate, a price range of 112½ to 225 myriads may have been possible within a single year because of seasonal price differences (*Chiron* 6 (1976) 243–5). Moreover, the money payment for *adaeratio* may have been set high in principle, and in 3410 the possibility of a penalty for arrears should be considered as well. For other price data from the fourth century see most recently R. S. Bagnall and P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 24 (1977) 111–24.

κυρίῳ [μου υἱῶ]  
 Δωροθέῳ  
 Χαιρήμων.  
 καὶ ρ. μ. . ου ἔγραψα δι. .  
 5 [. . . . .], ςαι παρ' ὧν  
 βο[ύλ]η ἀπόστειλον. ὅπως ἀ[πο-]  
 στήλης συνβιβάζων τὸ λί-  
 νον καὶ τὴν λοιπάδα τῆς  
 καθάλου ἄτ[. . .]ε. ς[. . .]ε[. . .]εκοπασας  
 10 τὸ ἐλευόργιο[ν] καὶ τὰ ζμή-  
 νη τον χ[. . .]ον καὶ τὸν κη-  
 ρὸν καὶ τ[ῆν] ἐγβολὴν τοῦ  
 κύτου καὶ τὴν ἀποχὴν τοῦ  
 κυπίου καὶ τὴν ἀπαίτησιν  
 15 τῶν κ[ρ]ιθῶν τῶν λοιπάδων  
 ὡς σοι μεταδέδωκα τῆς (ἀρτάβης) α  
 ἐκ (δηναρίων) (μυριάδων) κκε μόνον ἴσω πέν-  
 τε ἡμερῶν· οὕτω γὰρ συνέθε-  
 το Τούρβων. τὸν κύτον τῆς  
 20 Κατύρου καὶ Κυνῶ ἐμβαλοῦ  
 τῆν .[. . . .]τα τ[ῆ]ς Κατύρου·  
 οὐ γὰρ π[. . . . .]αψόμεθα [ .  
 τοὺς παλεῖοὺς  
 Ταμπεμοῦ . [

6 l. ἀπόστειλον, ἀποστειλῆς 10 l. ἐλευόργιον 14 ἀπαίτηεῖ 15 λοιπαδῶ 16 ὄ  
 17 \* ς, l. μόνων εἴσω 23 l. παλαιῶς

25 Πανοπολιτ[  
 χουσι κα. [ .  
 ςοι τὸ ὑπ[  
 τημ ἐπί[  
 καὶ . θ. [ ἀ-]  
 30 πόστειλον [ .  
 τινὰς ἀπο[  
 ἀποχὰς ἐμο[ῦ]

Left margin :

τί ἕκαστος παρέχει. ἐρρώσθαι σε εὐχομαι.

Back, remnants of a postscript :

] αὐτῷ γράψαι  
 35 ] . ρ. . εον του  
 ] τὸν παλεὸν  
 ] . καὶ εὐ ὄδας τὰ εβ-  
 ] ςρηνον  
 ] ςη[ ε. 9 ] α

Address, upside down in respect to postscript :

40 [κυρίῳ μου υἱῶ] Δωροθέῳ Χαιρήμων

29–30 l. ἀπόστειλον 33 l. παρέχει 36 l. παλαιῶν

'To my lord son Dorotheus, Chaeremon. I wrote . . . from whom you like send . . . see that you send it, including the flax and the arrears for the catholicus (?) . . . the oil mill and the bee-hives . . . and the wax and the lading of the wheat and the receipt of the tow and the collection of the arrears of barley, as I informed you, at 225 myriads of denarii exactly per artaba inside of five days, for that is the agreement Turbo made. Load the grain for Satyru and Cynopolis. . . .'

9 καθάλου: the context is not clear enough to say whether the sense is 'the remainder of the whole . . . ' or 'the remainder of dues for the catholicus'. For the latter possibility see 3423 19–20 n. At the end of the line ε[πι]εκοπασας, 'having inspected', would be more tempting if a verb ἐπιεκοπάζω were elsewhere attested. Cf. 11 n.

10 Oil mills are again mentioned in these papers in 3420 44.

10–11 ζμήνη: Gignac could cite only the spelling with c for the Roman period (*Phonology*, 122), but the form with ζ also occurs several times in a text published in *BASP* 10 (1973) 5–6.

11 Assuming that the omicrons in τον χ[. . .]ον are to be respected, the obvious text is τὸν χ[όρ]τον, but if χ[όρ]τον is then parallel to ζμήνη the omission of καὶ before it is surprising and harsh. One could avoid that by reading, e.g., τὸν χ[ωρ]τον for τῶν χωρίων. Chaeremon is not much given to spelling errors of this sort, but μόνων stands for μόνων in 17 below. It is thinkable that ἐλευόργιο[ν] and ζμήνη are governed by a participle in line 9, τὸν χ[όρ]τον then being the object of ἀ[πο]στήλης (6–7); a comparable problem in construing occurs in 3408 10–13. If so, -ασας in 9 is presumably the participial ending, but I have failed to find a convincing verb (cf. note there).

## 3411. LETTER FROM CHOÛS TO DOROTHEUS

44 5B.63/(5-7)b

8 × 27 cm

Fourth century

An archivist named Choûs writes to Dorotheus in unusually impure Greek that he will have his foster-son repay a loan of chaff if Dorotheus brings the lad up on a pending trip. The language implies that Dorotheus is located 'down' in respect of Choûs, either in the countryside while Choûs works in Oxyrhynchus (cf. 3397 introd.), or perhaps simply in the nome as opposed, e.g., to Alexandria. However that may be, the young man is apparently on Dorotheus' staff, and Choûs hopes that the promise of quick payment will induce Dorotheus to include him among his following for the trip.

The back is blank.

κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ  
 Δωροθέου  
 Χωοῦς ταβουλάριος  
 χαίρειν.  
 5 ἐπιδή ὁ τρόφι-  
 μός μου Ἀκῶ-  
 ριν χρεωστὶ ἄ-  
 'χυρον' ἵνα οὖν ἀνα-  
 λάβῃς κατῷ  
 10 ἄ χρεωστὶ καὶ  
 ὅτε μέλλεις  
 ἐλθεῖν ἄνω  
 ἔρχεται μετ' ἐσοῦ  
 καὶ πληρώνει  
 15 σε ὧδε ἄνω.  
 ὡςπερ ἐκέλευ-  
 σές με εἰς ἔργο(ν)  
 ἐποίησα. ἀλλ' ὅρα  
 μὴ ἀμελήσ.  
 20 καὶ σοὶ κέλευε  
 εἰς ἃ δύνάμε  
 ἵνα δέξω σοι  
 προέρεσιν. ἔρρω-  
 θθαί σε εὐχο-  
 25 μαι, ἀδελφε.

2 l. Δωροθέω 4 χαίρειν corrected from χαι/ο τροφ 5 l. ἐπειδή 6-7 l. Ἀκῶρις χρεωστει  
 8 ἵνα 9 l. κατῷ 10 l. χρεωστει 14 l. πληρώνει 16-17 l. ἐκέλευεσ 17 εργῶ 20 l. εὐ  
 21 l. δύνάμαι 22 ἵνα; l. δείξω 23 1st ε in προέρεσιν corrected from α; l. προάρεσιν

## 3411. LETTER FROM CHOÛS TO DOROTHEUS

'To my lord brother Dorotheus from Choûs, *tabularius*, greeting. Seeing that my foster-son, Akoris, owes you chaff—in order, then, that you can collect for yourself what he owes you—and since you are about to come up, he will come with you and pay you up here. I have carried out your orders, but see that you are not slack. And do you order whatever lies within my power so that I can show you my good will. I pray for your health, brother.'

3 The *tabularius* was 'a subordinate official in the fiscal administration, chiefly concerned with taxes. . . . The activity of *tabularii* in the private field became similar to that of private notaries (*tabelliones*). In post-Justinian times there was no difference between *tabelliones* and *tabularii*.' (A. Berger, *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Roman Law*, Philadelphia, 1953, s.v. *tabularius*). To the examples of the word cited in S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel greco d'Egitto* (Barcelona, 1971) add now SB X 10657. 2, P. Mich. XIII 673. 8, P. Tand. 19. 10, *Aegyptus* 56 (1976) 51 l. 12, and XLIII 3148 2. For the possibility that *νομικός* was sometimes used to translate *tabularius* see 3390 1 n.

19 μὴ ἀμελήσ: usually μὴ ἀμελήσῃς, but cf. 3403 9 and Mandilaras, *The Verb*, § 567.

20-1 κέλευε εἰς: not κελεύεσ. P. J. Parsons compares the use of εἰς here with πρὸς in BGU III 948. 12-13, ποιῶ σοι εἰμάρτια πρὸς τὸ δύνωμε (l. δύνωμαι).

## 3412. LETTER FROM HORION TO DOROTHEUS

44 5B.60/C(43-45)a

12.5 × 10 cm

c. 360

Horion, the *praepositus pagi* of 3391-2 and 3405, sends Dorotheus a soldier and an armed guard who are to collect a levy of wax for Alexandria. The rate of 10 pounds per hive seems heavy, but we do not know how often it was collected. Collection of wax is mentioned in 3410 11-12, and an *adaeratio* for the tax is attested in 3428 16. Otherwise the charge seems to be unknown.

The text is written across the fibres of the *recto*, as is shown by the edge of a sheet-join which runs through line 3. The back is blank.

Ἐριῶν Δωροθέου βοθη(ῶ)

χαίρειν.

ἀπέστειλα πρὸς καὶ Γερόντιον στρατιώτην

καὶ Δημήτριον κύμιαχον στρατηγοῦ

5 ὅπως ποιήσῃς τοὺς ὑπευθύνους

πληρῶσαι αὐτοὺς κηροῦ λί(τρας) ι" τοῦ κηρῶνος

καιηκονος Ἀλεξανδρίας. ἀλλ' ὅρα

μὴ κατάσῃς αὐτοὺς ὧραν μίαν.

καὶ ἀπόστειλον τὰ ἀργύρια διὰ Κοπρέως

10 ἐν τῇ σήμερον. ἔρρωσθαι.

1 l. Δωροθέω 3 l. ἀπέστειλα, εὐ 5 l. ὅπως 9 l. ἀπόστειλον 10 l. ἔρρωσθε for ἔρρωσο? or ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι?

'Horion to Dorotheus, assistant, greeting. I have sent you Gerontius, a soldier, and Demetrius, a guard of the strategus, so that you can make the responsible parties pay them 10 pounds of wax per bee-hive and (?) . . . of Alexandria. But see that you don't hold them up a single hour. And send the silver money by Copreus today. Farewell.'



6 κηρών was previously known only from the scholiast on Aristophanes, *Ecl.* 737.

7 No plausible interpretation of *καηκονος* occurs to me.

9 Copteus was an armed guard, *σύμμαχος*, known also from the back of 3416 and possibly from the front of that text as well; cf. note to 9 there.

9-10 Probably added as an afterthought, to judge from the spacing.

### 3413. LETTER FROM ISAAC TO DOROTHEUS

44 5B.61/C(1-5)b(2)

6 × 18 cm

Fourth century

Little connected sense can still be recovered from this fragment, but it adds to the prosopography of the archive and the missing portion may be recognized some day. It is not clear whether traces of ink on the back are remnants of an address or offsets from elsewhere.

[κυρίω μου] ἀδελφῶ Δωροθέω

Ἰσακ.

] δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἀλόγως

] ας μὴ ἀπαντήσας

5

] εθῆνέ σοι, ἄπερ πολ-

] ο κατὰ σοῦ. κἂν ὦς

] τὸ σφάλμα ἀποσω-

] λήσαι ἅμα Φλαβίω

] αυ[. . π]λείστων

10

] ηγι χόρτου μούγια

] ε[. .] αὐτῶ εἰς παν

] αὐτοῦ ἄχρι οὗ

] . τήσεται. ὄρα

] . ληται ἐπεν-

15

] ης ἐπὶ τῷ κυμ-

] κικ· ἦδη γὰρ καὶ ἄλλη

] χθη.

(m. 2) ἐρρῶσθαι και εὔ-

χομαί.

2 ἱσακ 18 l. ce

3-4 For example, *θανμάζω σε πολλὸ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἀλόγως | οὕτως ἡμέλησας.*

10 Presumably *χορ]ηγί* for *χορηγεί*.

15-16 The obvious supplement is *κυμ]βαίνοντι*, but there are doubtless other possibilities.

18-19 Written in brown ink, now faded and difficult to make out.

### 3414. ORDER FROM NN TO DOROTHEUS

44 5B.63/(9-12)b

17 × 6 cm

Fourth century

A damaged order similar to 3390-1 and 3405, but addressed to Dorotheus. The papyrus was clipped from a faded document written in brown ink, apparently a sale of some kind. The text is ] ἀπὸ ο[<sup>2</sup>]. φω. . . .<sup>3</sup> ] ης καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς<sup>4</sup> π]αρά σοῦ μεταλημφομένους<sup>5</sup> ], καὶ ἐπάναιγκας (l. -ες)<sup>6</sup> ] κατοχῆς πάσης<sup>7</sup> ἐπάναιγκες ἀποστήσω (l. -ειν)<sup>8</sup> ] περὶ δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς. Lines 2 and 3 stand at about twice the usual distance from each other, so a short line may be wholly lost between them. A blank space under this text was then used for a letter written in black ink, the remnants of which do not merit transcription. On the front side, in a different hand from the main text and upside down in respect to it, was written a note which may have been intended for *καὶ κρέως*.

] ε Δωροθέω βοηθῶ χαίρειν.

[παράσχου εἰς ὑπ]ηρ(εσίαν) τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ σπεκουλάτορος [

τέσσα]ρα, κρέως λίτρας τέσσαρες, καθαρὰ εἴκ]ροσι

] Τῦβι κς" ἐρ]ράσθαι σε εὔχομαι]

5

πολ[λοῖς χρόνοις].

'NN to Dorotheus, assistant, greeting. Supply my lord the *speculator* for his needs with (at least) four . . . four pounds of meat, (at least) twenty loaves of fine bread. I pray for your health for many years. (Year), Tybi 26.'

1 Of those employers whose names we know, Diogenes and Eulogius would do here.

2 For a short bibliography on *speculatores* see BGU XIII 2332. 6 n. Their interest in the ἐμβολή of grain is shown by P. Osl. III 88. 19-20 and perhaps CPR V 12, while P. Cair. Isid. 127 attests a *speculator* who served as ἀπαντήτης of gold and silver (cf. P. Beatty Panop. 2. 215-21 n.). This chit is likely to come from a *praepositus pagi*, as we know of no other officials for whom Dorotheus served as assistant. If that is correct, it indicates that the *speculator* held, or could hold, a post superior to that in the taxation hierarchy.

3 Restore e.g. οἴνου κνῖδια τέσσα]ρα.

4 Tybi 26 = 21 or 22 January.

### 3415. LETTER FROM DIOGENES TO DOROTHEUS AND PAPNUTHIS

44 5B.60/C(7-8)b

12 × 27 cm

Fourth century (376?)

Diogenes instructs Papnuthis and Dorotheus to pay a third assistant of his 20 solidi for *χρυσόργυρον* and 4 for 'Constantianopolis', plus the arrears still due from the past 3rd and 4th indictions. This implies that 3415 was itself written in a 5th indiction: AD 346, 361, and 376 are the most probable years. Of these, however, 346 can almost certainly be excluded, as the earliest dated document in which either Papnuthis or Dorotheus appears in public service is 3390, from AD 358. In AD 360 the brothers were employed by Horion (3391-2), in 365 by Eulogius (3393). It is therefore not chronologically impossible that they were serving Diogenes in 361, and indeed it may have been possible to work for two *praepositi* at the same time, but on the whole 376 seems

the most probable date. For Diogenes cf. 3416, perhaps also 3414. The Diogenes mentioned in 3404 is probably a different man.

*Χρυσάργυρον* was the *collatio lustralis*, the tax on tradesmen introduced by Constantine some time before AD 314 and abolished under Anastasius in 498: the basic treatment is J. Karayannopoulos, *Das Finanzwesen des frühbyzantinischen Staates* (Munich, 1958) 129–37. It is mentioned by name in the papyri in P. Lips. 64 = W *Chr.* 281. 30, PSI VIII 884 and XII 1265, P. Ross.-Georg. V 27. 5 and 28. 7, and P. Erl. 35. 2. The taxes on oil presses and fishermen attested in 3420 and 3423 are further presumably to be subsumed under this heading.

A *Κωνσταντιανόπολις* is not otherwise known and there can be no real doubt that the word is miswritten for Constantinople. In that case the tax will presumably be the same as that referred to in P. Osl. III 88. 10–12, *περὶ τῆς Κωνσταντινοπόλεως οὗτε τοὺς κομάρχας ἀπέτσιλας οὐδ' [τε χ]ρυσόν*. The editor of the text thought that this referred to grain intended for that city, but the implied alternative between sending the comarchs or the gold is easier to explain on the assumption that a money tax was involved (cf. 3397 introd.), and the *ἐμβολή* is in any case mentioned in a different part of the text, 18. The nature of the charge is uncertain, but the mention of an *ἀπατητή* *τιρώνων Κωνσταντίνης καὶ Δι[ο]κλήτιανου πόλεως* in P. Lips. 55. 1–2 raises a possibility that it may have been *χρυσὸς τιρώνων*.

The back is blank. There are illegible traces above the first line of the printed text, stray ink or offsets from elsewhere.

Διογένης Δωροθέω καὶ  
Παπνουτίω βοηθ(οῖς).  
Εὐδαίμονα τὸν ἡμέτερον βοηθὸν  
ἀπέτσιλα ἵνα τὰ εἴκοσι τέσσαρα  
5 νομισμάτια συμπληρώσητε,  
τὰ μὲν εἴκοσι τὰ ἀπὸ λόγου  
τοῦ χρυσαργύρου, τὰ δὲ τέσσαρα  
τὰ ἀπὸ λόγου τῆς Κωνσταντι-  
νοπόλεως· οὐ μόνον δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ  
10 τὰς λοιπάδας τῆς γς καὶ δς  
ἰνδικτιόνων τῶν τε σιτολό-  
γων καὶ κομάρχων. (m. 2 ?) ἔρρω-  
σθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι.

4 l. ἀπέτσιλα; ἵνα 13 ὑμας

'Diogenes to Dorotheus and Papnuthis, assistants. I have sent our assistant Eudaemon so that you can pay the twenty-four solidi, the twenty from the account of the chrysargyron and the four from the account of Constantinople; and in addition (pay) the arrears from the 3rd and 4th indictions, both for the sitologi and for the comarchs. (2nd hand?) I pray for your health.'

10–12 *λοιπάδας* . . . *σιτολόγων*: sitologi were in principle responsible for taxes in grain. Since these arrears are evidently to be paid to Eudaemon in cash they will have been adaeerated.

## 3416. LETTER FROM DIOGENES TO PARNUTHIS AND DOROTHEUS

44 5B.63/(71–73)a (front)

(a) 8.5 × 17.5 cm  
(b) 8.5 × 6 cm

Fourth century  
(c. 376?)

Diogenes orders his two assistants to send him the tow that is due to be collected for the *καθολικότης* and the *μαγιστρότης* and to see to it that certain villagers pay the *κύμμαχος* Copreus his wages. At this point one or more lines have been lost from the document, which is in two fragments that do not join, so that a further order concerning 'the master of the she-ass' is no longer clear; cf. 17 n.

*Μαγιστρότης* here can hardly be referred to anything other than the office of the *magister privatae*; it occurs in the same sense in P. Amh. II 138. 11. As this is clearly thought of as something other than the *καθολικότης*, that term must indicate the office of the *rationalis summarum* in charge of the fiscus: for these two chief branches of revenue in general see Lallemand, *L'Administration civile*, 78–89. The fact that taxes for both departments are to be collected from the same man, and at the demand of a military officer (11), invites comparison with P. Abinn. 3, in which an *ἐπίτροπος* *δεσποτικ(ῶν) κτήσεων* writes to Abinnaeus for soldiers to assist in the collection of taxes, whereby he refers to an *officialis* sent by both a *dux* and *τοῦ κυρίου | μου τοῦ διασημο(τάτου) καθολικοῦ* (15–16). It has been thought necessary to identify this *caatholicus* as a *rationalis rerum privatarum*, a post known from the *Notitia Dignitatum*, Or. xiv, 4 and probably XX 2267 6; but it now seems a genuine possibility that the *καθολικός* of P. Abinn. 3 is after all none other than the *rationalis summarum Aegypti*. That the *rationalis summarum* and the *magister rerum privatarum* should co-operate so far as to use the same soldiers to assist in collecting taxes for both offices is in no way surprising: the *comes sacrarum largitionum* had an interest even in the *patrimonium* (*Cod. Theod.* x, 2, 2) and *magistri privatae* are counted among his subordinates in *Not. Dig.*, Or. xiii, 15, while the papyri attest that the *magister privatae* of Egypt also had an interest in the fiscus: references in Lallemand, op. cit. 88–9. See further N. Lewis in *JJP* 15 (1965) 157–61.

3415 is another letter from the Diogenes of our text, and 3414 may be from him as well. The tone and subject-matter of the correspondence suggests that he was a *praepositus pagi*. Whether he is identical with the landlord of the same name in 3398 and 3407 is not apparent.

On the back are twenty faded and mutilated lines of a money account. The following entries are representative: <sup>8</sup> τῷ γεούχῳ δι(ὰ) [Κο]πρέως <sup>9</sup> συμμάχου νο(μισμάτια) ι', <sup>10</sup> τῷ γεούχῳ ὑπ(ὲρ) λόγου Εὐλόγιου[υ] <sup>11</sup> νο(μισμάτια) δ, <sup>12</sup> κομενταρηξίῳ νο(μισμάτια) γ, <sup>13</sup> τῷ γεούχῳ δι(ὰ) Θεογνώστου <sup>14</sup> νο(μισμάτιον) α', '10 solidi for the landlord, through Copreus the armed guard; 4 solidi for the landlord on behalf of Eulogius; 3 solidi for a *commentariensis*; 1 solidus for the landlord through Theognostus'.

(a)

Διογένης Παπνου-  
 τίου καὶ Δωροθέου  
 βροθ(οῦ) χ(αίρειν).  
 ἀντῆς ὥρα δεξάμενός  
 5 μου τὰ γράμματα τὸ εἰ[ππίον]  
 τῆς καθολικότητος  
 καὶ τῆ[ε] μαγιστρότη<το>ε  
 ἀπόστειλον ἐπὶ τῆν  
 πόλιν ἐν τῇ σήμερον·  
 10 πάντοι γὰρ ἐνοχλοῦμαι  
 ὑπὸ Σερήνον τοῦ (δεκαδάρχου).  
 καὶ ποιήσον τοὺς  
 ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης  
 πληρώσαι Κοπρέαν  
 15 τὸν σύμμαχον εἰς  
 τὸν μισθὸν αὐ[τοῦ]

(b)

καὶ μὴ ἐπιτρέψῃ  
 τὸν κύριον τῆς ὀνάδος  
 κρατῆσε αὐτὸν ἐστ' ἂν αἰγὼ  
 20 ἀκούσω τοῦ πράγματος.  
 (m. 2) ἔρρωσθαι.

1-2 l. Παπνουθίω καὶ Δωροθέω 8 l. ἀπόστειλον 10 l. πάντ 11 l. Σερήνον  
 19 l. κρατῆσαι, ἐγὼ 21 l. ἔρρωσθε

Diogenes to Papnuthis and Dorotheus, assistants, greeting. The very hour that you receive my letter send the tow for the account of the *catholicus* and of the *magister* to the city, today; for I am being much troubled by Serenus, the decurion. And make the villagers pay Copreas the armed guard . . . for his wage . . . and does not let the master of the she-ass take possession of him (it, them ?) till I have heard the case. Farewell!

4 δεξάμενος: Diogenes writes as though he were addressing only one person in the letter until the closing ἔρρωσθε.

14 Κοπρέαν: this form points to a nominative Κοπρέας, but the possibility should be considered that this may be the same man as the Κοπρέως (gen.) of 3412 9 and/or of 8-9 on the back of this text, cited in the introduction.

18 ὀνάδος: here for the first time in the papyri, if the reading is right. Cf. *ισνάς*.

17 ἐπιτρέψῃ: this should be 3rd person active, the subject being lost in lacuna. The sense is presumably 'see to it that so-and-so obeys and does not let the owner of the she-ass take possession of him (it, them?) till I have heard the case', or perhaps 'do such-and-such if he raises an argument and does not let' etc. If αὐτόν, i.e. αὐτόν or αὐτῶν, in 19 is to be taken seriously, it cannot refer to the she-ass, but to some word lost in the gap between lines 16 and 17.

## 3417. LETTER FROM MAXIMUS TO PARNUTHIS AND DOROTHEUS

44 5B.63/(28-29)a (back)

10 × 25.5 cm

Fourth century

Maximus, whom the other side of this papyrus shows to have been headman of the village Leuciu (3422), writes a letter of furious reproach to Papnuthis and Dorotheus: their failure to carry out some piece of business with which their 'brother' Ammonius was concerned has resulted in the latter's hounding Maximus in his village for the last three days. Not enough information is given for us to reconstruct the background to the affair, though some connection with taxation is a natural supposition in the context of these papers. In any case, Dorotheus and Papnuthis are in Maximus' debt, and Ammonius will shortly be back in Oxyrhynchus. The brothers are to see that he does not trouble Maximus again.

The other side contains 3422. That text was written first, or the papyrus would not have found its way into this archive. Maximus is probably to be recognized again in 3428 17, possibly also in 3419 1.

κυρίαίς μου ἀδελφοῖς Παπνουθίω  
 καὶ Δωροθέου Μάξιμος.  
 θαυμάζω ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ τῆν  
 πολλὴν πῶς ἀφίετε τὸν  
 5 ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν Ἀμμώνιον  
 ἐνοχλῶν μοι καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέ-  
 ραν περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἐκί-  
 νου. οὔτε οὐκ ἐποιήσατε  
 αὐτὸ διὰ τὸν Θεὸν οὔτε  
 10 οὐκ ἐσθάνετε ἀνθρώποις,  
 ἀλλ' ἀφήκατέ μοι θλίβεσθαι  
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ ἔχω μου τὰς  
 κάκας. οὐκ ἀφήκατέ μοι μετ' αὐ-  
 τὰς; [γ] κἂν ὥς τὸ λυπὸν ἐδέξ-  
 15 θῆται, δῶτε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ  
 τὰ αὐτοῦ. μὰ τῆν γὰρ θίαν πρό-  
 νοια(ν) εἰδὼ μὴ διαλύεσθαι  
 πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἀφίτε μοι  
 θλίβεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀναβέ-  
 20 νω ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ

2 l. Δωροθέω 3 ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ 5 l. ὑμῶν? 6 l. ἐνοχλεῖν 7-8 l. ἐκείνου 9 l. Θεὸν  
 10 l. αἰδέσθετε? see note to text 12 l. ἔχω 13-14 ac in αὐτὰς corr. from ω 14 l. λοιπὸν,  
 αἰδέσθητε 15 l. δῶτε 16 l. θείαν 17 l. διαλύεσθε 18 l. ἀφίτε 19 l. ἀναβαίνω

ποιῶ ὑμᾶς ἀπετεθῆναι  
 τὸ πᾶν εἰς μίαν ῥοπήν.  
 οὐκ ἐδέεθηται ὑμῖς ὅτι  
 25 τρία ἔτη σήμερον ἐγὼ χω-  
 ρηγῶ διάφορον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν(ν),  
 τὸ οὐκ ἔστιν δίκαιον παρὰ Θε-  
 ῶ καὶ ἀνθρώποις; τριδὴν ἡμε-  
 ἐρρώσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχομε.

Left margin:

30 ἔρχεται γὰρ πρὸς ὑμᾶς. μὴ ἀφίτε αὐτὸν ἄλλοτε ἔλθιν πρὸς ἐμέ.  
 ῥῶν γὰρ σήμερον διακατέχει μοι ἐπὶ τῆς κώμης καὶ τοσαῦτα αὐτῷ απ. . γητῆ  
 . . . ετηνα. . [.]μην ταύτην.

21 ὑμᾶς; 1. ἀπαιτηθῆναι 23 l. ἀδείεθε; ὑμῖς, 1. ὑμείς 24-5 l. χορηγῶ 25 ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν  
 26 τὸ = ὁ 27 l. τριῶν 28 ὑμᾶς; 1. εὐχομαι 29 l. διακατέχει με 30 ὑμᾶς; 1. ἀφίτε, ἔλθειν

'To my lords brothers Papnuthis and Dorotheus, Maximus. I am astonished at you beyond all measure how you let our (your?) brother Ammonius trouble me every day about that business. You did not see it through for the sake of God, nor do you show regard for men, but you have let me be pressed by him. I have my troubles too. Did you not abandon me after them? Nevertheless, show some shame in the future, give the man what is his. For by the Divine Providence, if you do not come to terms with him, but let me be pressed by him, I am coming up to the city and having the whole amount collected from you at one go. Are you not ashamed that I have been paying interest for you three years today, which is not just in the eyes of God or man? I pray for your health. (Postscript): For he has been confining me in the village three days today, and so much . . . for he is coming to you. Do not let him come to me another time.'

5 It is possible that this Ammonius is the correspondent of 3419-21, perhaps also the 'father' of Papnuthis mentioned in 3397 27.

9 The referent of αὐτό is apparently πράγματις in line 7. Some more examples of διὰ τὸν Θεόν are collected in P. Herm. Rees 17. 6 n.

10 ἐθάνατε: it seems clear from the context that this is a 2nd person plural, apparently an active by-form of αἰεθάνομαι, though I have found no parallel for such. The meaning seems to be 'you have no sympathy for your fellow human beings', or perhaps 'you have no care for how your behaviour looks to people'.

13 κάκας presumably means 'troubles' here, though that definition is not given in LSJ, s.v. κάκη. The word does not seem to have been found in a papyrus before. It may recur in 3420 25, but τῶν κακῶν there could also come from τὰ κακά.

13-14 μετ' αὐτάς corrected from μετ' αὐτῶν, not vice versa. This may be a statement, 'you did not abandon me' etc., but the following κἄν ὥς clause links more smoothly if it is a rhetorical question.

17 εἰ μὴ διαλύσασθαι (l. -εθε): for the use of the indicative after εἰ in the koiné see Mayer II 1 pp. 284-5; L. Radermacher, NT Grammatik 198-200. But the subjunctive is used in l. 18, unless ἀφίτε there stands for ἀφίετε rather than ἀφίτε.

27 τριδὴν: here begins a postscript added after the ἐρρώσθαι formula had been written. It continues along the side of the papyrus.

29 Much of the surface of the papyrus has been lost near the end of the line.

## 3418. LETTER FROM NN TO NN

44 5B.60/C(4-5)a

7 × 14 cm

Fourth century

This fragment of a letter is on grounds of style and content likely to belong to our archive, and the hand may be that of Dorotheus or Papnuthis, but as the names of writer and addressee are lost one cannot be sure.

The back is blank.

. [ . . . . . ]  
 περὶ τοῦ ἐρ. [ . . . . . ]  
 μοι ἵνα ἀπ[ . . . . . ]  
 αὐτόν. δὴλωσόν  
 5 μοι καὶ ἀνέρχομαι  
 ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν.  
 Θεοῦ γὰρ θέλωτος  
 ἀπαντῶ ἐπὶ τὴν  
 πόλιν ἐν τῇ νευμμ' ν' α,  
 10 μόνον γράψον μοι  
 τὴν φάσω.

ἐρρώσθαι σοι [εὐ]χο-  
 μαί πολλοῖς χρόνοις.

3 ἵνα 8 l. ἀπαντῶ 9 l. νεομηρία 12 l. εε

'. . . me about the . . . that I may . . . him (or, it). Tell me and I will come up to the city; for God willing, I shall get to the city on the first, just write me word. I pray for your health for many years.'

2 It is most probable that the word in lacuna immediately before μοι was γράψον, but then it is very hard to find a suitable masculine noun beginning with ἐρ- that is short enough for the remaining space. ἐργ[άτου] or ἐρ[ί]φου might do, or the name 'Ἐργ[έας]; but it is perhaps more attractive to seek something along the pattern of εἰ θέλεις λαλῆσαι τῷ δέονα περὶ τοῦ ἐργ[ου, γράψον] μοι ἵνα ἀπ[οστέλω] αὐτόν, 'If you want to speak with so-and-so about the work, write to me and I'll send him'.

## 3419. LETTER FROM SARAPAMMON TO AMMONIUS

44 5B.63/(66-67)a

16 × 24 cm

Fourth century

Evidently Sarapammon, like Dorotheus and Papnuthis when they accepted work under Eulogius, had borrowed money to meet the immediate demands of superior tax-collectors in the expectation of recovering it later from the peasants from whom it was more properly due. But collections for the fourth indiction ended in the red; Sarapammon has not been able to recover his pledges from his creditors and has been forced to borrow still more money from his 'father' Dioscorus, whom he is particularly

eager to repay. He now writes to Ammonius that he is sending one Dorotheus to him, and requests that the two of them take armed guards and bring in the sums still owing. Whether or not this Dorotheus is the son of Aphynchis, the text was most plausibly written in a 5th indiction of the mid fourth century: AD 346, 361, and 376 are the most probable dates.

The sheet of papyrus had a heavy join, which the writer was hesitant to cross with his pen. Lines 1–6 grow successively longer till 7 reaches normal length; in 12–16 a substantial gap is left between letters on either side of the join, and 17–18 are, like the opening lines, written short in order to avoid crossing it. The heading of an account was written and crossed out before the sheet was used for the letter. For the correspondents see 3420. The transcript was made by Z. Borkowski.

The back is blank.

[Λόγ(ο) Μαξιμίου]

κυρίῳ [μου ἀδ]ελφῷ Ἀμμωνίῳ

Σαραπάμμων χαιρεῖν.

ἀπήνητησεν πρὸς σέ δ ἀδελφός

5 ἡμῶν Δωρόθεος ἀξ[ι]φθεῖς ὑπ' ἐ-

μοῦ ὥστε αὐτὸν ἀπετῆσαι τὰς ἐχθέρας

τὰς λοιπαζομένας τῆς τετάρ(της) ἰνδικτιώνος.

οἶδας ὅθι καὶ τὰ ἐνέχυρα ἡ[μ]ῶν ἐξω εἰς

καὶ ὁ πατήρ ἡμῶν Διόσκορος ἔχρησεν ἡμῖν

10 καὶ αὐτὸν θέλομεν πληρῶσαι διὸ σπουδῆ σοι

γενέσθω συμβαλέσθαι αὐτῷ μετὰ καὶ τῶν

συμμάχων ἀχ[ρ]ῖς οὐ ἂν τὴν ἀ[π]έτησιν ποιή-

σῃ τῆς τετάρτ[η]ς ἰνδικτιώνος· αὐτὸς γὰρ

καὶ τὸν λόγον αὐτῶν δύναται εἰδέναί

15 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἠξίωσα αὐτὸν ἀπαντῆσαι

καὶ τὴν ἀπέτησιν ποιῆσαι ἵνα δυναθῶ-

μεν καὶ Διόσκορον πληρῶ-

σαι καὶ τὰ ἐνέχυρα ἡμῶν ἀνα-

κομισώμεθα. μὴ οὖν ἀκνήσης συνβαλέ-

20 σθαι αὐτῷ μετὰ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἀχρῖς

οὐ ἂν τὴν ἀπέτησιν ποιῆσαι. ἐρρω-

σθαί σε εὖχομαι πολλοῖς

χρόνοις, ἀδελφε.

5 ὑπ  
αὐτός

6 l. ἀπαιτῆσαι, ἐκθέσειε  
16 l. ποιῆσαι; ἵνα  
21 a in ἂν corrected from τ; 1. ἀπαιτῆσιν

8 l. ὅτι

13 ἰνδικτιώνος  
14 αὐτῶν corrected from

'Account of Maximus' (cancelled).

'To my lord brother Ammonius from Sarapammon, greeting. Our brother Dorotheus has come to you upon my request that he collect the arrears listed as owing for the fourth indiction. You know that our pledges too are overdue (?) and our father Dioscorus has made a loan to us and we want to pay him; so be zealous in co-operating with him together with the guards till he has carried out the collection for the fourth indiction; for he is in a position to know their account and for that reason I have requested him to go and carry out the collection so that we can pay Dioscorus and get back our pledges. Therefore do not hesitate to co-operate with him together with the guards till he has carried out the collection. I pray for your health for many years, brother.'

1 Μαξιμίου: possibly the *meizon* of Leuciu known from 3417 and 3422.

8 τὰ ἐνέχυρα . . . ἐξω εἰς: I have found no parallel for this expression and the meaning is not obvious. It cannot be that the pledges are altogether lost, for Sarapammon still hopes to redeem them (18–19). The translation 'overdue' is inspired by *LSJ*, s.v. II, 'of time, beyond, over', though none of the passages cited there much resembles this one. Perhaps the idea is spatial instead, that they are placed further away from home than Sarapammon would have liked. But the reading may be ἐξ ὄψε 'you know of what (valuable) things my pledges consist', loss of final nu being so common in this archive, though that would make ὅτι superfluous.

10–11 σπουδῆ σοι γενέσθω: for the phrase cf. P. Strassb. 32. 4–5.

11 συμβαλέσθαι: context surely requires not merely 'meet' but 'work together with', though I do not find that definition cited for the word elsewhere. Confusion with *συνλαβέσθαι*, perhaps?

12–13 ἀ[π]έτησιν ποιῆσαι: the usual construction would use the middle voice here, requiring the translation 'you make the collection', but 16 shows that this writer can use the active form instead. As the letter elsewhere speaks only of Dorotheus' making the collection, it seems better to take *ποιῆσαι* as 3rd person active here and in 21.

#### 3420. LETTER FROM AMMONIUS TO SARAPAMMON

44 5B.63/(86–87)a

9 × 26.5 cm

Fourth century

Ammonius writes to his 'patron' Sarapammon in the strongest terms of remonstrance against the latter's omission of crucial information in the letters he sends, a type of carelessness which Ammonius says has led to delays in the tax-collection, unfair time-pressure on the peasantry, and at least one disgruntled letter probably to higher authorities. If Ammonius is indeed Sarapammon's freedman, he speaks to him with remarkable openness; but it is more likely at this time that 'patron' was only a term of respect (cf. CPR V 19. 18–19 note). Sarapammon addresses Ammonius as his 'brother' in 3419.

τῷ δεσπότη μου πάτρων

Σαραπάμμων

Ἀμμώνιος.

θαυμάζω ὅπως οὕτω γράφεις μοι

5 μὴ δηλώσας διὰ σφῶν γραμμά-

των μήται τὴν τιμὴν εἶνα πρὸ

1–2 l. πάτρωνι Σαραπάμμωνι

4 l. γράφεις

6 l. μήτρε, ἵνα

K

τῆς ἀνάγκης καὶ οἱ ἄγροικοὶ τὸ ἔ-  
 τυμον ἑαυτῶν ποιήσ[υ]ναι. ἔπεχε  
 μὴ ὕστερον τὸ πᾶν καύσομεν ἐὰν  
 10 γὰρ οὕτως αὐτὴς γράψῃς οὐκ ἐπ' ἔ-  
 μοι τὸ ἔτιον. φθάνει ἄρτι Ἀμμωνια-  
 νὸς γράφειν εἰς Νεσιμίμιν πλα-  
 τικῶς. οὕτω γράφ[ις]. ἐδήλωσας  
 οὖν διὰ Ἀμόνι ἰδίον σου ὡς περὶ  
 15 κρέως λι(τρῶν) χ' οὐκ ἐδήλωσας  
 ἐκ πόσου τῆς λίτρας. καὶ περὶ ἀ-  
 χύρου λι(τρῶν) (μυριάδος) α' πάλιν τὴν τι-  
 μὴν οὐκ ἐδήλωσας, ἢ ὅτι τὸ  
 ἴδος, λέγω δὴ τὸ ἀχυρον, θέλει  
 20 πέμψαι εἰς τὴν πόλιν. οὕτω καὶ  
 οἱ ἄγροικοὶ τὰ {υ} αὐτὰ λέγουσι,  
 διὰ τὰ γράμματα σου ἡ πᾶσα ἐνε-  
 δρία γίνεται. γρ[ά]ψον μοι οὖν τὴν  
 τιμὴν ἐκάστου ἴδου. παύσομαι  
 25 μετὰ καὶ τῶν κακῶν μου θλιβό-  
 μενος. τάχα ὁ κατακλυσιμὸς  
 ἔρχεται εἴνα ἐν μᾶ βοπή τὰ πάν-  
 τα πληροῦμεν. ἀπέστειλά σοι Σαρα-  
 ηοῦς θυ(γάτηρ) Πανσιρίου ἔχουσα  
 30 ἀποχὴν κρέως λι(τρῶν) κβ' Ἀμμω-  
 νιανοῦ· ἰδαὶ ἢ ἐλληματίσθη· εἰ  
 μὴ, ποιήσον αὐτὴν λημματισθῆ-  
 ναι καὶ γράψον μοι. ἀπέστειλά σοι Ἀμ-  
 μονιῶν τὸν πεδιοφύλακα μετὰ  
 35 γραμμάτων. ἐὰν ἀπόσχης τὰ κά,  
 ταῦτ' οὐ ποιήσον αὐτὸν πληρῶ-  
 σαι. τὸ ἔριον εἰς τὰ πρόβατα ἐμερί-  
 σθη ὅπως ὁ ἀγροφύλαξ πληρῶ-  
 σαι, καὶ οἱ ἄγροικοὶ ὀλίγως. ἀ μὲν γράφεις

7 αναγ' κησ 7-8 l. ἔτοιμον 9 ὕστερον 11 l. αἴτιον, φθάνει 13 l. γράφεις  
 14 ἴδιον 15 λ 17 λ Γ 19 ἴδος; l. εἶδος, θέλεισ 20 l. πάλιν 24 l. εἶδουσ 27 l. ἴνα  
 28-9 l. Σαραηοῦν θυγατέρα (θυ παρ.), ἔχουσαν 30 λ 31 ἰδαί; l. ἰδὲ εἰ ἐλληματίσθη 33 l. ἀπέστειλα  
 39 l. γράφεις

40 μοι περὶ [το]ῦ Ζωιλᾶ, οὐκ ἀπέστειλα  
 τὴν ἔχθεον αὐτῶν. ἐρρώσθαι  
 σε εὖχομαι π[ο]λλοῖς χρόνοις.

Postscript down the left margin:

μὴ ἀμελήσης γράψον μοι τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ κρέως ὅτι πόσον ἀπαιτοῦσιν τῆς  
 λίτρας, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀχύρου γράψον μοι. εἴσω  
 οὐδὲ τὰ γράμματα μου ἀναγινώσκεις. ποιήσον τὸν πρόεδρον δοῦναι χρυσοῦ  
 γράμ(μα) αζδ' ὑπὲρ ἐλαιουργίου κλη(ρονόμου) Σύρου·

Back:

45 ἤδη γὰρ κατὰ τὰ ἄλλα ἐλαιούργια ἀπαιτῶ. γράψον ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ σήμερον  
 τὴν τιμὴν ἐκάστου καὶ τὴν τιμὴν  
 τοῦ βουρδάνου ὅτι πόσου ἐκάστη<ς> ἀρούρης 'καί' φθάνει ἴνα πρὸ τῆς  
 ἀνάγκης πάλιν βοηθήσῃς.

Address, upside down in respect to the postscript:

τῷ δεσπότη μου πάτρωνι

×	×
×	×
×	×
×	×
×	×
×	×

Σαραπάμμων  
 Ἀμμωνίος

40 ζωιλᾶ; l. ἀπέστειλασ 43 l. ἔσωσ 44 l. ἀναγινώσκεις; γραμζ', ὑπερ, κλη 46 l. φθάνει;  
 αναγ' κησ 47 l. Σαραπάμμων

'To my lord patron Sarapammon, Ammonius. I am astonished how you write to me this way not even stating the price in your letter so that the country people can prepare themselves before absolutely necessary. Stop it or we will burn the lot; for if you write this way again the blame will not be on me. Ammonianus has just written at length to Nesmimis, that is the way you write. You told us, then, through your own man Amois about 600 pounds of meat; you did not say how much it was per pound. And concerning 10,000 pounds of chaff again you did not state the price, or that you want to send the item, I mean the chaff, to the city. That is why even the country people say the same thing, the whole delay comes about because of your letters. Therefore write me the cost of each item. I shall have rest from my afflictions together with my troubles. Maybe the flood will come so that we can pay the whole sum in one go. I have sent Pausirius' daughter Saræous to you with Ammonianus' receipt for 22 pounds of meat. Find out if she has been credited with it; if not, have her credited with it and write me. I have sent Ammonas the field-guard (*pediophylax*) to you with letters; if you have got yours, make him pay the same. The wool (-levy) has been divided up according to sheep, so that the fieldguard (*agrophylax*) pays, and no small sum. As for what you wrote about Zoilas, you have not sent me the list of their charges. I pray for your health for many years. (Postscript) Do not neglect to write me the price of the meat, how much they are collecting per pound, and moreover write to me about the chaff. Maybe you don't even read my letters. Make the chairman pay 1½ grammes of gold for the oil factory that belongs to Syrus' heirs; for I myself am already carrying out the collection on the other oil factories. Write us today the price of each item, and how much the price of the mule amounts to per arura, and hurry, so that they can help again before absolutely necessary. (Address) To my lord patron Sarapammon, Ammonius.'

6-7 *πρὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης*: the phrase recurs in 46. I can cite no other instance of *ἀνάγκη* in quite this sense, 'last possible moment', but some of the examples in *WB*, s.v. (2) are not far removed from it.

7-8 *τὸ ἔτιμον ἐαυτῶν ποιήσ[ω]ν*: cf. I 123 11-12, *τὸ ἔτιμον αὐτοῦ ποιήσαι*. For the indicative in final clauses see Mandilaras, *The Verb*, §§ 413 and 542-6. Here *ποιήσων* could be read instead of *ποιήσ[ω]ν*, but the indicative is clear in 28 and 46.

9 *μή . . . καίρωμεν*: Mandilaras does not cite an instance of a future used as here, so perhaps *καύσωμεν* should be read.

12-13 *πλατικῶς* is not in the *WB* or *Spatlio lexicale*. To judge from the entries under *πλατικός* in *LSJ* the translations 'in general terms' and 'in detail' are both defensible, and the context does not show which is meant here. I think it likely that Ammonianus' letter was one of lengthy complaint directed to some superior of Sarapammon and Ammonius who was staying in the village Nesmimis; but if *πλατικῶς* does mean 'in general terms', then it may rather be that we should place a full stop after *Νεσμίμων* and take the adverb with what follows, i.e., 'Ammonianus has already written to Nesmimis (complaining, or conceivably just asking for clarification of some points), with such lack of detail do you write.'

19 *ἴδος* (= *εἶδος*): used throughout this letter in the technical sense of goods to be collected in kind for taxes.

24-6 *παύσομαι . . . θλιβόμενος*: if Ammonius thought of *κακά* as enduring for life, this would presumably imply that only death could bring him relief. But in all probability he means nothing more than that a sensible letter from Sarapammon will solve his present difficulties.

28-33 The Ammonianus of l. 11 was presumably involved in tax collection, or he would probably not have responded so actively to the letter that Ammonius complains about. I take it that the same man is meant here: he has collected 22 pounds of meat due from Saraëous, and issued a receipt for the same. Ammonius wishes to be sure that these have been properly credited to her in the taxation lists, which are apparently with Sarapammon.

36 *τῶν*: i.e., 22 pounds of meat, the same as Saraëous?

37-8 *τὸ ἔριον εἰς τὰ πρόβατα ἡμερίσθη*: the collectors evidently knew that a levy of wool would be made before they learned how much would fall on each individual. The total amount to be raised in such levies may well have differed from time to time, and the proportion due from each contributor plainly changed in accord with the number of sheep he owned.

38-9 *ὅπως . . . πληρώσει*: cf. Mandilaras, *The Verb*, § 776. It is not clear to me whether the *ἀγροφύλαξ* of l. 38 is the same or a different man from the *πεδιοφύλαξ* of l. 34.

44 *πρόεδρος*: president of a city council, no doubt that of Oxyrhynchus; see A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (Toronto, 1971) 59-60. It is not clear whether the man mentioned here owed the gold as a private individual or in consequence of his office. City councillors played a role in tax collection in the fourth century, but the details of their responsibility are not well known; see Bowman, *ibid.* pp. 69-77. If the councillor is here functioning as a private citizen, then either he owns the plant in question, and *κλη(ρονόμων) Σύρον* is in effect simply its name; or he has assumed tax responsibility for the property even though it does not belong to him, as guardian to the still under-aged heirs or for some other reason. There is another reference to the government's interest in *ἐλαιόφυρα* in 3410 10; cf. further *ZPE* 8 (1971) 208, lines 13 ff., and for the pre-Diocletianic period cf. S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt* (Princeton, 1938) 184-7.

45-6 *πμήν τοῦ βουρδάνου*: since this price is to be calculated per arura we are dealing with the tax; cf. 3424 8 n.

46 There seems to be no other subject for *βοηθήσους* available than the *ἄγρικοι*.

47-8 For the design cf. 3396 32 n.

## 3421. LETTER FROM AMMONIUS TO SERAPION

44 5B.63/(68-69)b (front)

11 × 12.5 cm

Fourth century

This letter with its rather florid Christian opening was later trimmed to contain 3402 on its back. Its writer may or may not be the Ammonius of 3419-20; Serapion and Philippus are otherwise unknown. Much of the surface has been very badly rubbed, so that the readings offered are sometimes far from certain.

τῷ κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ

Σεραπίωνι Ἀμμώνιος.

προηγουμένως εὐχομαι

τῷ παρελθέμονι θεῷ

5 περὶ τῆς ἀδελφικῆς σου

διαθέσεως . . . ἐῖθι-

μοῦντά και ἀπ[ο]λαβεῖν [τά]

παρ' ἐμοῦ γράμματά μου.

καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει σε ἡξίωσα

10 περὶ τοῦ θρεπτοῦ σ[ο]υ Φιλίπ-

που ὅπως βοηθήσης αὐ-

τῷ καὶ μὴ ἐάσης Πέτα-

λον στερήσειν. κατ' αὐτοῦ

(traces of 1 line)

. . . . .

7 l. σὺ 9 l. πόλει 13 l. στερήσειν (?); cf. n.

'To my lord brother Serapion, Ammonius. Before all I pray to the all-merciful God concerning your brotherly attitude that you may receive my letter from me . . . in good spirit. I made a request of you even in the city about your foster-child Philippus, that you should come to his assistance and not allow Petalus to rob him. Against him . . .'

6-7 There is not enough room for the usual *ὀλοκληροῦντα και εὐθυμοῦντα* or any variant thereof that has occurred to me.

13 *στερήσειν* (l. -ειν). *κατ' αὐτοῦ*: the articulation appears very harsh. Perhaps one should read *στέρησειν κατ' αὐτοῦ* [*ποιήσεται*] or something of the sort, 'exercise robbery against him'. I have found no close parallel for that phrase, but some of the examples of *κατά*+gen. cited in Maysers II. 2 p. 429 tend to support it. The traces in 14 are too meagre to help.

## 3422. LETTER FROM APOLLONIUS TO MAXIMUS

44 5B.63/(28-29)a (front)

25.5 × 10 cm

Fourth century

An order from an otherwise unknown Apollonius to Maximus, *μείζων* of Leuciu to supply four knidia of honey 'for the most fortunate day of the crowning', presumably the inauguration of Apollonius or an intimate of his to some public office (cf. e.g. XLIV 3202 with literature there cited. The word used, *κρέμικ*, does not appear to have any particular religious significance, either Christian or pagan).

The functions of a village *meizon* are not very clear (cf. G. Rouillard, *L'Administration civile de l'Égypte byzantine*, Paris, 1928, pp. 69-71; P. Corn. 20. 9 n.), but this transaction hardly has the appearance of being official business. It is at least possible that Maximus is in this case acting as a private individual, and that the title here serves only to identify him among the villagers.

On the back is a letter from Maximus to Papnuthis and Dorotheus, 3417.

Ἀπολλώνιος Μαξίμου μίζων Λευκίου χ(αίρειν).  
 αὐτῆς ὥρας δεξάμενός μου τὰ γράμματα σπουδασον μέλιτος  
 ἐπιτηδίου κνίδια τέσσερα ἀποστείλε μοι διὰ τοῦ ἀποσταλέντος εἰς τὴν  
 εὐτυχαστάτην ἡμέραν τῆς εἰσέψεως, τῆς τιμῆς λογιζομένης  
 5 σοι καθὼς δηλοῖς μοι. ἐρρώσθαι σε εὐχομαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις.

1 l. μείζων 3 l. ἐπιτηδίου, τέσσερα, ἀποστειλα

'Apollonius to Maximus, *meizon* of Leuciu, greeting. The very hour that you receive my letter hasten to send me four knidia of satisfactory honey by my messenger for the most fortunate day of the crowning, the price being booked to you just as you instruct me. I pray for your health for many years.'

3 κνίδια of 4, 5, and 8 sextarii are known: see *TAPA* 70 (1939) 6-8.

4-5 τῆς τιμῆς λογιζομένης σοι: linguistically it would seem possible to translate this as 'the price being charged to you', meaning that Maximus himself, from friendship or for some other reason, had agreed to cover the price of honey he delivered. But while it would no doubt be possible to think of circumstances in which a delivery of honey which was effectively a gift would be expressed in such form for record purposes, it seems much more likely that the man who orders the goods also has to pay for them: for this use of *λογίζομαι* cf. e.g. BGU XII 2184. 4 and n.

## 3423. MEMORANDA

44 5B.60/C(9-10)b

10 × 26 cm

Fourth century

The first five items on this list are introduced with the words *περὶ τοῦ* and apparently contain short summaries of letters sent or received; the last entry contains the imperative 'collect the taxes'. Most probably, then, the whole is an *aide-memoire* of things to be done, based for the most part on orders received in correspondence. The back contains scattered jottings with amounts in solidi.

περὶ τοῦ τῶν κωμάρχων  
 τῆς Ταμπεμου ἐπὶ τὴν  
 πόλιν ἀποστ[ε]λαι  
 καὶ Μάρκον καὶ Ἡρᾶν καὶ  
 5 [...] ατο χρυσῶν τῆς  
 χαρύβδεως.

περὶ τοῦ τῶν χρυσῶν τῶν  
 ἀλιέων ἀπαιτήσε.

περὶ τοῦ σιππίου τῆς αὐτῆς.

10 περὶ τὸν πάντα τὸν εἶτον  
 ἀπετῆσε τῆς Ταμπεμου  
 καὶ Κατύρου καὶ Κωυποπόλιτου  
 εἰς τὸ δημοσάριον πλοῦ-  
 ου.

15 περὶ τοῦ τ[ὸ]ν οἶνον τῆς  
 Κυνῶ τῶν ἀγγω-  
 νῶν ἀπετῆσε.

καὶ τὸ Κατύρου  
 ἀπαιτήσον τὴν κα-  
 20 θολικότητα.

3 l. ἀποστειλα 8, 11, 17 l. ἀπαιτῆσαι 10 l. περὶ τοῦ 12 l. Κωυποπόλιτου 13 l.  
 δημοσάριον 16-17 l. τῶν ἀνωγῶν

'About sending the comarchs of Tampemu to the city and Marcus and Heras . . . the gold for the pool. About collecting the fishermen's gold. About the tow of the same (village). About collecting all the grain of Tampemu and Satyru and the Cynopolite nome for the state ship. About collecting the wine for the *annonna* from Cynopolis. And collect the amounts due to the office of the catholicus from Satyru.'



1-3 For instances in this archive of comarchs being 'sent to the city' see 3397 and 3408-9. In those papyri the expectation was that the nome capital, with its prison, presented a favourable environment for persuading reluctant comarchs to pay the taxes due from their villages. That would suit the present text well enough, but of course there may have been other causes for such trips as well.

5 [...]...στο: το may stand for τὸ<ν> (cf. e.g. 3408 21), though τὸν χρυσόν is spelled correctly in 7. The preceding traces can be read as [ἄ]πιδίωμα. If that should be right, the meaning would presumably be 'send Marcus, Heras, and Apion to the city with the gold' or just 'collect the gold from them'.

5-6 χρυσὸν τῆς χαρυβδέω: in XLVI 3269 and 3270 a type of fishing is described as χαρυβδέω, and it has been suggested that the noun refers to 'a pool of rough water associated with a lock' (P. Collect. Youtie 68. 21-2 n.). The 'gold of the *charybdis*', attested for the first time here, is apparently different from the 'gold of the *halieis*' which follows, but is no doubt like it to be ranked among the trade taxes.

7-8 The 'gold of the fishermen' seems not to have occurred before, but one would in any case have expected fishermen to be subject to the χρυσάργυρον. For earlier taxes on the trade see Wallace, *Taxation* 219-21.

9 τῆς ἀντῆς refers to Tampemu.

12 It is remarkable that the Cynopolite nome here is treated as parallel to Oxyrhynchite villages. Many texts in vol. XVI show a close connection between the two nomes in the later Byzantine period. Taxes for the two are paid together in 1843 and 1909, and in the latter text 'their combined quotas are only 2,000 solidi more than that of Heracleopolis' (1909 introd.). In 2028 contributions for stables at Tacona are collected from Plecin, Sepho, and Cynopolis; the amounts from all three are roughly comparable. Nonetheless, 3398 shows that Cynopolis still had its own boule in the fourth century (though not necessarily still at the time of this text), and it is remarkable to find its taxes collected by Oxyrhynchite officials. Cf. further the single procurator in charge of imperial estates in both nomes in XX 2267. There was also a village named Cynopolis (e.g., BGU XIII 2252. 4), but that was located in the Polemonos meris of the Fayum and cannot be meant in these texts.

13 δημοσύριων: a new word. Du Cange cites δημοσύριος in Greek and *dimossarium* in Latin, defining the latter as 'municipium, burgus respectu castelli, seu burgus qui castello imminet'. If pressed, this might suggest that the boat was owned by the *civitas* rather than the provincial government, but it probably means no more than δημοσίως.

16 Κινώ: cf. 3398 12 n.

19-20 καθολικότης in the sense of dues owed to the office of the *catholicus* seems to have occurred previously only in 3408 27. In IX 1223 30-1 and possibly 3410 8-9 ἡ καθ' ἑλόν is used synonymously. The first passage understandably puzzled its editors; translate 'one and a half units [i.e., 150,000,000 denarii, see 3402] for taxes owing to the office of the catholicus'. Cf. also P. Osl. III 88. 25, where τὰ εἶδη τῆς καθόλου should mean 'items owed to the catholicus'.

### 3424. TAX SCHEDULE

44 5B.63/(54)a

19.5 × 24.5 cm

Fourth century  
(c. 357 or 372?)

The closest parallel to this list of taxes and the rates charged per arura for them is XVI 1905, which the editors dated to the fourth or fifth century and A. Déléage would place between AD 311 and 356 (*La Capitation du Bas-Empire*, Mâcon, 1945, p. 73).<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, 3424 is not concerned with regular taxes collected at normal rates, but is a *προσαίτησις*, a list of charges to be collected over and above the sums that had

<sup>1</sup> R. Rémondon considers a date later in the fourth century more probable (*Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology*, p. 434), and this has been accepted by J.-M. Carrié in *Armées et fiscalité dans le monde antique* (Paris, 1977), 383.

already been taken in sometimes for one and sometimes for two indictions. Comparison between 1905 and 3424 is further hampered by the different methods of expression used: 1905, for example, states the number of aruras which must be taxed to yield one cloak for the *vestis collatio*, whereas 3424 states the number of denarii which fell on one arura for the same tax.

The most probable dates for the first indiction mentioned in lines 5 and 7 are AD 357 and 372, indiction 15 referring in either case to the preceding year. On grounds of palaeography alone, AD 342 and 387 could also come into consideration, but those dates fall too far outside the known span of Dorotheus' and Papnuthis' engagement in tax affairs; and while there is no mention of the brothers in the text, the presumption that it was found among their papers is nonetheless very high.

The back contains a short list of names, largely mutilated, headed λόγ(ο) τῶν δοβ(έντων) ὑπ(έρ) ἐφορ(ῶν).

προσαίτησις  
ἐσθήτος τῆ (ἀρούρη) α μυρ(ιάδες) λεζ  
ναίλ(ου) θαλαττίων κὺν κομοδίου  
δοβ(έντος) Ἀθανασίου κορμικου<λά>ρης τῆ (ἀρούρη) α μυρ(ιάδες) η καὶ  
(τάλαντα) β  
5 ἀδηληγατεῦτων ιεζ ἰν(δικτίωνος) καὶ αζζ τῆ (ἀρούρη) α μυρ(ιάδες)  
[[ (τάλαντα) ]] ξδ  
τῆ ἀμπ(έλου) τῆ (ἀρούρη) α τῶν δύο ἰνδικτι(ώνων)  
ιεζ καὶ αζζ τῆ (ἀρούρη) α μυρ(ιάδες) ν  
βουρδῶνος τῆ (ἀρούρη) α μυρ(ιάδες) ιζ  
πιρωνάτου τῆ (ἀρούρη) α μυρ(ιάδες) λ  
10 β ἰνδικτι(ώνων)  
προσθήκη κρέως καὶ ἀχύρου  
κρέως τῆ λ(τρα) α μυρ(ιάδες) κς, ἀχύρ(ου) τῆ λ(τρα) α μυρ(ιάδες) β  
καὶ τὴν λοιπάδων τοῦ κρέως καὶ ἀχύρου

4 l. Ἀθανασίω κορμικουάρη 9 λ<sup>ς</sup> corrected from λ<sup>ς</sup> (?) 13 κρέως corrected from κρέα καὶ

<sup>1</sup>Additional demand. For clothing, 35 myriads to the arura. Freight on sea-going vessels, including pay given to Athanasius, *cornicularius*, 8 myriads and 2 talents the arura. Taxes not forming part of the *delegatio* for the 15th and 1st indiction, 64 myriads the arura; on vineyards, 400 myriads the arura for the two indictions, the 15th and the 1st. For a mule, 10 myriads the arura. For recruits, 30 myriads the arura for 2 indictions (*or*, for the 2nd indiction). Surcharge on meat and chaff: on meat, 26 myriads to the pound, on chaff 2 myriads the pound. And the arrears of meat and chaff.

1 *προσαίτησις* appears to be new in the papyri, though the verb *προσαίτω* is common enough. Read *προσαίτησ(ε)σις*, perhaps, but the change hardly seems necessary.

2 *ἐκθήρος*: a charge to provide clothing for the army, see above all Karayannopoulos, *Finanzwesen* 112-17. In PSI VII 781. 4 (AD 341) the amount charged was only 175 denarii per arura, that is,  $\frac{1}{2000}$  the supplement to be collected here. XVI 1905 3-6 gives the calculation in kind as 1 *chlamys* per 243 aruras, 1 *sticharion* per 175 aruras, 1 *fallion* per 1,925 aruras, and an extra  $\frac{1}{2}$  *sticharion* of linen per *chlamys*. A law of AD 377 set the *annua vestis collatio* for Egypt as collectable per thirty *uga*, and authorized an *adaeratio* for the charge (*Cod. Theod.* vii 6, 3). That does not provide a terminus post for this text, however, as the possibility of *adaeratio* is already attested in P. Cair. Isid. 72, from AD 314. See further on l. 9.

3 *ναύ(ου) θαλασίων*: see P. Cair. Isid. 59. 4 n., P. Princ. Roll IX 4 n. In XVI 1905 9 the rate for sea-freight is 1 solidus per 243 aruras. For other relevant texts see A. C. Johnson and L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* (Princeton, 1949) 160-3.

κομοδίου (l. -ω): cf. XLVII 3358 4 and n.; Du Cange, s.v. *κομοδα*, 'apud Suidam, & in Glossis Basilic. δόσις ἐπὶ τοῦ σεισμοῦ παρεχομένη. Ubi *σεισμοῦ* legunt viri docti.'

4 The *cornicularius* was the head of a military clerical staff. It is possible that the money was not designated for Athanasius himself, but was to be turned over by him to the appropriate ships' captains.

5 ἀδηληγατέων: not attested elsewhere. Presumably these are taxes that did not form part of the *delegatio*, perhaps minor levies for local purposes.

8 βουρδάνος: in XVI 1905 7 the rate charged to purchase mules for the army is 1 gramme of gold per 46 $\frac{1}{2}$  arouras. The only other reference to the tax not already in Daris, *Lessico latino*, appears to be 3420 45-6.

9 *τιρωνάτου*: the word is found again in PSI XIII 1366. 7. There is a good discussion of *aurum tironicum* in Karayannopoulos, *Finanzwesen* 119-23; some further bibliography is cited by A. Cérati, *Caractère amonaire et l'assiette de l'impôt foncier au Bas-Empire* (Paris, 1975), 15 n. 61. One notes that the taxpayer here is charged an amount of silver currency while the government demanded gold. It was the middleman's responsibility to get the latter; cf. 3401. A similar situation no doubt prevailed in respect to various taxes in kind such as the *vestis collatio*, seeing that the fractions of cloaks for which most taxpayers would be responsible according to the schedule in 1905 are by nature incapable of delivery in kind. This raises the possibility that *Cod. Theod.* vii 6, 3, which permits an *adaeratio* on *vestis militaris* long after money payments for the charge had been regularly accepted, means that from that time on money collected from the taxpayers could be delivered directly to the state, whereas tax-collectors had previously been obliged to purchase clothing with the money they took in on that account.

10 β ἰνδικτη(ώνων): I have assumed that this means the 15th and the 1st indictions, as in ll. 5 and 7, but β ἰνδικτη(ωνος), 'for the 2nd indiction', is also possible.

## 3425. LIST OF FOODSTUFFS

44 5B.63/(17-19)a (front)

9.5 × 27.5 cm

c. 359-365

This short text issuing from the *praepositus* Eulogius lists the same commodities as XVI 2048 and is written in a format similar to that document and 2047. The purpose of 2048 is not stated in the preserved portion of the text, but 2047 is a list of goods supplied to two *singulares*, so the items set out in 3425 may also have been designated for government personnel of some sort. Cf. the orders issued by *praepositi* that their assistants should furnish visiting *officiales* of their superiors with various supplies in 3391 and 3414. On the back is 3426.

οἴνου Ὁασιτικοῦ

επάτια δ,

ἐντοπίου κερ(άμια) δ.

καθαρῶν (ἀρτάβη) α.

5 δέλφαξ α.

ὄρνεα δ.

c. 5 cm blank

π(αρά) Εὐλόγιου πραι(ποσίτου)

κώμης Τερύθειας.

2 1. *επάθια*

'4 spathia of wine from the Oasis, 4 ceramia of wine produced locally, 1 artaba of fine bread, 1 pig, 4 fowls. From Eulogius *praepositus*, for the village Terythis.'

1 οἴνου Ὁασιτικοῦ: products of an Oasis mentioned up to now in the papyri are oil (PSI III 203. 5), garlic (PCZ III 59299. 6 and 7), ochre (XXXI 2567 20), and something called a *κούκλω* (X 1300 9-10), in addition to the wine attested here and in XVI 2048 1. It is uncertain which oasis is meant in the PCZ papyrus, but as the other texts all come from Oxyrhynchus one presumes that these refer to the neighbouring Ὁασίς Μικρά.

7-8 For Eulogius see 3393 introd. The phrase πραι(ποσίτου) κώμης Τερύθειας need not indicate that there were *praepositi* at a village level, but only that Eulogius, as *praepositus* of the fourth pagus, was the *praepositus* responsible for Terythis. Cf. perhaps P. Abinn. 39. 3-4, where πραιποσίτω τῆς Διονυσιάδος means simply the *praepositus* of the *ala* stationed there. It would also be possible to construe κώμης Τερύθειας apart from πραι(ποσίτου), that is, 'from Eulogius the *praepositus*, commodities collected as the contribution from Terythis', and that view may indeed be preferable, as it raises no further problems of interpretation.

## 3426. MONEY ACCOUNT OF DOROTHEUS THE WINE-MERCHANT

44 5B.63/(17-19)a (back) 9.5 × 27.5 cm Fourth century

Two thousand two hundred and fifty myriads of denarii received from the sale of a solidus are expended on food and clothing or turned over to various persons. The question arises whether the Dorotheus of 2, the *ἑμοί* of 13, is also the Dorotheus of 8 and 11-12, and whether either or both are identical with Dorotheus the son of Aphynchis. On the whole it seems unlikely that the correspondence of Dorotheus in the rest of the archive would have contained no reference to wine-selling if Dorotheus had in fact exercised that business as well as tax-collecting, but there is no decisive evidence either way.

On the other side is 3425.

πα

λόγ(ος) Δωροθέου οἰνοπράτη  
 ἀπὸ τι(μῆς) νο(μισματίου) α (δηναρίων) (μυριάδων) Ἰβεν  
 ἀναλώμ(ατος) οὕτως·

5 τι(μῆς) κυκίων β (δην.) (μυρ.) ςμ  
 ὁμοίος τι(μῆς) ἐπιθοῦ α (δην.) (μυρ.) ρε  
 Ψύρου ἀδελφ(οῦ) (δην.) (μυρ.) ρ  
 Δωροθέου εἰς χίρας (δην.) (μυρ.) υ  
 Ἰσιδώρου ἀθλητῆ (δην.) (μυρ.) υ

10 τι(μῆς) ετυχ(αρίων) λινῶν (δην.) (μυρ.) υξε  
 τῶ αὐτῶ Δωροθέου εἰς χίρ(ας) (δην.) (μυρ.) ξγ  
 ὁμοίος τῶ αὐτῶ (δην.) (μυρ.) τ  
 ἑμοὶ καὶ Παπνουθίου (δην.) (μυρ.) ροξ

c. 15 cm blank

5 l. κυρίων 6 l. ὁμοίως, ἐφθοῦ 7-9, 11, 13 l. dative 8, 11 l. χείρας 12 l. ὁμοίως

<sup>1</sup>81 (?). Account of Dorotheus, wine-merchant. From the price of a solidus, 2,250 myriads of denarii. Expenditure as follows: price of 2 cucumbers, 240 myr. den. Price of 1 portion of cooked meat likewise, 105 myr. den. For Psyrus, brother, 100 myr. den. Handed over to Dorotheus, 400 myr. den. For Isidorus, athlete, 400 myr. den. Price of linen tunics, 465 myr. den. Handed over to the same Dorotheus, 63 myr. den. Likewise to the same man, 300 myr. den. For myself and Papnuthis, 177 myr. den.

<sup>1</sup> What I have doubtfully read as a numeral here may be no more than a meaningless offset of ink (the same is true of β and α in 5 and 6). Not the π<sup>1</sup> which often heads late Byzantine documents.

<sup>2</sup> οἰνοπράτη: for the late genitive form cf. S. G. Kapsomenakis, *Münchener Beiträge* 28 (1938) 130 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> To judge from other prices of gold coins from the period, 2,250 myriads may well have been the full value of the solidus here, as it was in P. Osl. III 88. 19, but the use of ἀπό may mean that the total price was higher. Cf. 3401 6 n.

## 3427. MONEY ACCOUNT

44 5B.63/(60-62)b 9 × 18.5 cm Fourth century

There is no indication that this text forms part of the papers of Dorotheus and Papnuthis, but it is of interest for the mention of thirty talents collected for *πρόσκαυρα* (cf. 3392) and expended on the repair of boats. It further contains the only reference to an epoikion named Phlou.

The writing runs across the fibres and the back is blank.

π(αρά) Ὁρου Παυσίριος  
 οἰκῶν ἐν ἐποικίῳ Φλοῦ  
 ὑπ(ὲρ) προσκέρων ἀρ(γυρίου) (τάλαντα) λ.

(m. 2) Θῶθ κα  
 5 (δν) ἐδόθησαν Ἀπίωνι βοηθῶ  
 στρατηγοῦ ὑπὲρ ἐπισκευῆς  
 πλοίων, γί(νεται) (τάλαντα) λ.

c. 5 cm blank

(m. 3?) Σαραπάμμων (τάλ.) λβ  
 Δί[ον]ύσιος (τάλ.) οα  
 10 [. ]λλάδιον (τάλ.) οα

2 l. οἰκοῦντος, ἐποικίω 3 l. πρόσκαυρων

<sup>1</sup>From Horus, son of Pausiris, resident of Phlou farmstead, for occasional charges, 30 talents of silver. (2nd hand) Thoth 21. Of these 30 talents were given to Apion, assistant of the strategus, for the repair of boats. (3rd hand ?) Sarapammion 32 tal., Dionysius 71 tal., NN 71 tal.

<sup>4</sup> Thoth 21 = 18 or 19 September.

<sup>8-10</sup> These lines are not written in the second hand, but may be in the first rather than in a third. In any case, the connection with the rest of the text remains unclear. The men may be taxpayers like Horus, and the sums the amounts they paid, but that is only a guess.

## 3428. TAX LIST

44 5B.60/C(15)a

18 x 29 cm

Fourth century

A list of persons responsible for parcels of land, followed by a record of sums of money received on various accounts. Among the latter is an *adaeratio* on the wax levy (see 3412) and on woad due to the office of the catholicus.

It is possible that this text was drawn up in an office where Papnuthis or Dorotheus was employed, and was taken home by one of them for use as scrap paper, but there is no proof of that and the document may not belong to the archive. Nonetheless, 'Maximus from Leuciu' (17) seems likely to be the headman of 3417 and 3422.

The names *Ἀμουνούς* (l. 2), *Κορηλιών* (3), *ᾠριγενής* (4), *Μαρτύρις* (11), and *Ῥίων* (15) are not recorded in the *Namenbuch* or *Onomasticon*.

Παρίωνι τραπεζίτη (ἄρουραι) λαϚd/

Ἀμουνούς Ψεναμούνιος (ἄρ.) ζϚ/

Καραηοῦς Κορηλιώνος (ἄρ.) ιδϚd/

ᾠριγενής Καραπίωνος (ἄρ.) ηϚ/

5 δι(ὰ) Χωοῦς πραγματευτής ἐν τῷ Μύτρων

αἰ (πρότερον) Θεοδ( ) Κορηίου (ἄρ.) νηϚd/

δι(ὰ) Κολλοίθου βωηθ(οῦ) Θεοδοῦλου

Πομπεία Ἑλιωδώρα (ἄρ.) ριϚ

δι(ὰ) γεωργ(ᾶν) Λευκίου

10 Φλ(άουιος) Βαρβάτιος (ἄρ.) ξαϚ

δι(ὰ) Μαρτύριος βωηθ(οῦ) Γεροντίου

Θερμούθιον θ[υ]γ(άτηρ) Διοσκόρου (ἄρ.) λαιϚλβ<sup>β</sup>

Ἐύλογ[α] θυγ(άτηρ) Ἀθηνοδώρου (ἄρ.) νϚ

Ἀμυνάριον γ[υ]ν(ῆ) Ἀπίωνος οἰελά (ἄρ.?) ϙd/

15 ὑπ(έρ) Ῥίωνος ἀπὸ Π[. . .] εἰος (δηναρίων) (μυριάδες) ψογ

ὁμοίος ὑπ(έρ) ναύλ(ου) κυππίου καὶ τι(μῆς) κηροῦ (δην.) (μυρ.) χνδ

καὶ ὑπ(έρ) Μαξίμου ἀπὸ Λευκίου (δην.) (μυρ.) [[τμζ]] ϙμθ

Ἀλεξοῦτος (δην.) (μυρ.) τνζ'

ἐρίου καὶ ἰσάτεως καθολικότητος

20 ὑπ(έρ) ᾠρίωνος (δην.) (μυρ.) ρξϚ

Back:

ᾠρίων βωηθ(ός) Θεοδοῦλου (δην.) (μυρ.) κκε

5 πραγ'ματευτής; 1. Χωοῦτος πραγματευτοῦ 7, 11 l. βωηθοῦ 12 ρ of Θερμούθιον corr. from α? 14 l. οἰελά? 15 υ' 16 l. ὁμοίως; ναυλ 21 l. βωηθός

'Parion the banker, 31½ aruras. Amunus daughter of Psenamunis, 7½ ar. Saraçous daughter of Cornelion, 14½ ar. Horigenes son of Sarapion, 8½ ar. through Chotis, agent in Mytron. Formerly belonging to Theod( ) son of Copres, 58½ ar. through Colluthus, Theodulus' assistant. Pompeia Heliodora, 116 ar. through the cultivators at Leuciu. Flavius Barbatius, 61½ ar. through Martyris, the assistant of Gerontius. Thermuthion daughter of Dioscorus, 31½ ar. Eulogia daughter of Athenodorus, 50½ ar. Ammonarion wife of Apion, glass-man (?), 90½ ar. For Rhion from . . . , 773 myriads of denarii. Likewise for freight charges on tow and for the price of wax, 654 myr. den. And for Maximus from Leuciu, 249 myr. den. For Alexus, 357 myr. den. For wool and woad to the account of the catholicus, for Horion, 166 myr. den. (Back): Horion, assistant of Theodulus, 225 myr. den.'

5 τῷ Μύτρων: with τῷ understand ἐποικίω, κτήματι, or a similar word. The locality was not known before.

9 Λευκίου is of course a personal name as well, but here the village will be meant.

14 After the names the writing is heavily inked and may be in a second hand. At any rate it has the appearance of having been added later. The letters οἰελα probably represent ὀελά, gen. of ὀελάς, a maker or seller of glass. The word is not attested, but the papyri have produced numerous new terms for tradesmen formed with the same suffix, see L. R. Palmer, *A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri*, I 49-50. For οἰ representing υ see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar*, I 198-9.

15 The village name may be some version of Παγγουλεῖου.

18 Ἀλεξοῦτος: a village of this name is known from VII 1052 6, 16, and 27, but here an individual could be meant.

19 ἐρίου καὶ ἰσάτεως: cf. the list of villages supplying these two items in VII 1052. For mentions of ἰσάτεω in papyri see D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 85-95. Woad owing to the *ratio privata* was known from SB X 10264 as reedited in *ZPE* 17, 91-5. That it was also due the catholicus is hardly surprising, though the fact was not attested before.

21 There was more than ample space free for this note to have been added to the list on the front of the papyrus, so it may refer to some quite different matter.

## 3429. MONEY ACCOUNT

44 5B.60/C(17-19)a(b)

14 × 19 cm

Fourth century

There is no particular reason to count this damaged list of moneys received and paid out among the papers of Papnuthis and his brother, but it contains another mention of Dorotheus the wine-merchant, some prices of tow and of solidi, and a previously unattested village name.

] . c [   
 κ]ριθ(ῆς) ἀ(ρτάβαι) γ [   
 ]- ὑπ(ἐρ) τι(μῆς) χόρτου [   
 ε]ἰς χίραυ [   
 5 ] Ἀματίου [   
 ] ἐνάτης [   
 ] Διαπνουθίου ὑπ(ἐρ) Κάκτωρ ἀπὸ Βρώ [   
 Διο]νύσιος Ἀπολλωνίου ἀπὸ λόγου πιτακίου (τάλαντα) ρ, β   
 .. λος Ἰεῶν ἀπὸ πιτακίου πρὸς Ὠρίων (τάλ.) 'ω   
 10 .. τας πρεσβυτέρου ἀπὸ πιτακίου π(ρὸς) Δωροθέου   
 οἰνοπράτη (τάλ.) Ἡυξ   
 ... ἀξιαπτος ἀπὸ πιτακίου π(ρὸς) Ὠρίων (τάλ.) 'ς   
 [[π(αρά) Κο]πρέους Θωνίου ἀπὸ πιτακίου π(ρὸς) Ὠρίων (τάλ.) [.] ]   
 καὶ π(αρά) τοῦ αὐτοῦ Καρμάτη εἰππίου δέ(εμαι) μβ ἐκ (ταλάντων) τν,   
 (γίνονται) (ταλάντων) (μυριάς) α' Δψ   
 15 καὶ π(αρά) Ἀπολλῶς Διονυκίου πρὸς Δωροθέου κατήλου (ταλ.) Ἰω   
 [καὶ π(αρά) Κο]πρέους Θωνίου ἐξ ἀπολύσεως τῶν χειριστῶν   
 τρῶ νομιμ(ατίου) (τάλ.) 'ς   
 [καὶ π(αρά) [.] ους Ἀφοῦτος χρυ(σοῦ) νομιμ(ατίου) α, (τάλ.) Ἡτ   
 [καὶ π(αρά)] Καρμάτου εἰς συμπλήρουσιν τι(μῆς) νομιμ(ατίου)   
 20 .. [.] ντων π( ) τῶν χειριστῶν ἐπὶ τῆς κώμης (ταλάντων) (μυριάδες) β' Ζc

Back: ] (τάλ.) .[   
 ] (τάλ.) φ   
 ] (τάλ.) φ

c. 4 cm blank

] ὑπ(ἐρ) νομιμ(ατίου) α (δηναρίων) (μυριάδες) Ἰεμε   
 25 ] (δηναρίων) (μυριάδες) Ἰ

4 l. χείρα 7 l. Κάκτωρ 9 τεακ; 1. Ὠρίωνα 10-11 l. Δωροθέου οἰνοπράτη   
 12, 13 l. Ὠρίωνα 15 l. Ἀπολλῶτος, Δωροθέου κατήλου 16 l. χειριστῶν 19 l. συμπλήρουσιν   
 20 l. χειριστῶν

'3 artabas of barley . . . for the price of hay . . . into his hand . . . of Amatius . . . ninth . . . (NN, son of) Papnuthis, for Castor from Bto . . . Dionysius son of Apollonius, from the account of the farming association, 1(.)2 talents, NN son of Isak from the farming association to Horion, 800 talents, NN the elder from the farming association to Dorotheus the wine-merchant, 8,466 talents, NN from the farming association to Horion, 6,000 talents, from Copreus son of Thonius from the farming association to Horion . . . talents (cancelled), and from the same Sarmates 42 bundles of tow at 350 talents apiece, total 14,700 talents, and from Apollon son of Dionysius to Dorotheus the shopkeeper, 3,800 talents, and from Copreus son of Thonius, in accord with a release from the assistants, 6,000 talents for the solidus, and from NN son of Aphas 1 gold solidus, i.e. 8,300 talents, and from Sarmates, 27,200 talents to make up the price of solidi . . . the assistants in the village . . . talents . . . 500 talents . . . 500 talents . . . 3,245 myriads of denarii for 1 solidus . . . 900 myriads of denarii.'

7 Βρώ has not occurred previously. Metathesis for Τβώ?

8 πιτακίου: usually spelt with two τ's. For a short bibliography on these agricultural associations see P. Cair. Isid. 24. 1 n. The figure at the end of the line was 152 or 182.

9 πρὸς Ὠρίων: πρὸς presumably means either that the money in question was credited to Horion's own dues, or that it was paid to him for further delivery to tax officials. In the former case Horion is likely to have been a pittaikarch, in the latter a field-worker connected with a tax office. The presence of an οἰνοπράτης and a κατήλος among the men whose names stand after πρὸς does not seem decisive either way.

10 For Dorotheus the wine-merchant cf. 3426 2. I am not sure whether κατήλου in 15 is intended to distinguish the Dorotheus there from the man here, or is simply a less precise term for οἰνοπράτης.

12 Possibly Ἰεράξ Ἄπτος.

16 ἐξ ἀπολύσεως τῶν χειριστῶν: I do not find a definition of ἀπόλυσις which is obviously suitable here in LSJ or the WB. It apparently means 'authorization' or 'permission': SB VI 9024. 10 f. is parallel (ἐξ ἀπολύσεως τοῦ γεούγου), and the use in P. Collect. Youtie 28. 8, 10, and 15 is very close. For the corresponding use of the verb see BGU XIII 2348. 3 note, and cf. the diminutive ἀπολυκίδιον.

17 Before νομιμ(ατίου), τρῶ seems marginally better than ἕπ(ἐρ) τῆ(μῆς). The amount paid, 6,000 talents, equals 900 myriads of denarii. To judge from other prices of solidi which occur in texts of this period (see 3401 6 n.), that is probably only an instalment on a higher price.

19 I have written the plural νομιμ(ατίων) on the assumption that -ντων in the following line stands in agreement with the word abbreviated here. A price of 27,200 talents (= 4,080 myriads of denarii), though perhaps not out of the question as the price for one solidus, would certainly be a very high price for one, and that so much should be only an instalment is hardly credible.

20 Two possibilities are δε[θέ]ντων π(ρὸς) and πρε[θέ]ντων π(αρά).

## 3430. LETTER FROM DIDYMUS TO THEODOTUS

2 1B.105/D(a)

8 × 27 cm

Fourth century

This lively letter of complaint concerning one Asion and others who have allowed a vineyard to fall into neglect is not part of the Papnuthis-Dorotheus papers, but it evidently belongs to the same general milieu. If threats of torture in lines 24 f. and 32 can be taken literally, both correspondents must have held official positions of some responsibility: cf. the imprisonings, real and prospective, in 3397 and 3409. As in much of the Papnuthis correspondence as well there is no address. There are illegible scatterings of ink on the back.

L

[κυρίῳ μου νιῶ] Θεοδότῳ

[Διδύμος.

..[.].[.] Ἀσίῳ τὴν τύχην

ἑαυτοῦ ἐχλεύασεν καὶ οὐχί

5 τὴν ἐμὴν ἕσασ τὸ χωρίον  
εἰς ἔρημον· ἀρκεσθεῖς) γὰρ ὑπὲρ

τῆς γυναικὸς διγνου ὥστε

τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς ἐνέγκαι

εἰς ἀμπελοργίαν τοῦ χωρίου.

10 εἰδὼς οὖν ὅτι χρεία μου

ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως

μάλιστα διὰ τὰ δημόσια

καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, σπούδας κα-

τ' αὐτὴν τὴν βοτῆν καταναγ-

15 κάσει Ἀσίῳ ὥστε τὴν

παράστασι τῆς γυναικὸς

ποιῆσαι μετὰ καὶ τῶν τέ-

κνων αὐτῆς. καὶ τὸν γαμ-

βρὸν δὲ ἀπέστειλον ἅμα

20 αὐτῶν πρὶν τοῦ με τὴν

ὄρμην ποιῆσαι ἐπὶ τὴν

πόλιν ἵνα δυναθῶ τυπῶ-

σαι τὸ χωρίον κατὰ λόγον

πρὶν ὀδεῦσαι. μετὰ στρε-

25 βλώσεως οὖν ἀπέστειλον

Ἀσίῳ ἅμα αὐτῶν.

(m. 2) ἐρρώσθαι σε εὐχομαι

πολλοὺς χρόνους

29 κύριέ μου νιέ.

(m. 1) [[παράσχου Ἰσακ Φανβαρτὸν

εἰς συνπλήρωσει<ν>]]

Along the left side:

μετὰ στρεβλώσεως μεθόδευον Ἐρμίαν τὰ δύο διπλᾶ Ἀθνακίον ἐπικου]

7 l. δέκνον or δεκνίου 10 l. χρεία 14-15 l. καταναγκάσαι 19 l. ἀπέστειλον 22 ἵνα  
25 l. ἀπέστειλον 30 ἰσακ

'To my lord son Theodotus, Didymus. . . Asion has made a mockery of his own fate, not of mine, by letting the plot go to desert; for, once you are satisfied about the woman, announce that she is to bring her children to do the vineyard work of the plot. Knowing, then, that there is need of me in the city, especially because of the public dues, and other things as well, hasten this very moment to force Asion to make the woman and her children put in an appearance. And send the son-in-law with them before I start out for the city so that I can assign (?) the plot properly before going. So torture Asion and send him here with them. (2nd hand) I pray for your health for many years, my lord son. (1st hand, cancelled): Supply Isak Phanbartos for the completion. . . (on the left side): Use torture to collect from Hermias the double-jars of Athanasius. . .'

3-4 τὴν τύχην ἑαυτοῦ ἐχλεύασεν: cf. P. Laur. II 43. 10-11, ἐχλεύασατε οὐκ ἐμὲ ἀλλ' ἑαυτούς; PSI V 481. 9, χλευάσας ἑαυτόν. Preisigke translates the last passage 'benahm sich frech' (WB, s.v.), but perhaps it means rather 'spoiled things for himself'.

6-7 ἀρκεσθεῖς) γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς γυναικὸς: i.e., once you have surety for her? It seems likely that the woman referred to is Asion's wife.

22-3 τυπῶσαι τὸ χωρίον: the closest parallels to this expression that I have been able to find are P. Giss. 54. 14, τυπῶσαι (sic) τὸν εἶνον τὸ<ν> δημόσιον τῆς κτήσεως ἡμῶν and SB VI 9376. 3-4, τυπῶσαι αὐτοῖς τρία ζῆα. According to the editor of the second text, 'In both cases an object is reserved for a predetermined end either by a mark put on it or a note written about it in some ledger' (JEA 40, 1954, 75). The second procedure would be applicable to a plot of land, but just what is meant here is not clear to me.

24-5 στρεβλώσεως: so also in 32. The word can now be recognized in P. Mert. I 45. 4, where στρεβλ[ώσε]ως is to be read. Cf. further P. Tebt. III(1) 789. 15 n. and the mention of αἰκία in 3409 21. In this context, however, one may doubt whether μετὰ στρεβλώσεως is really more than a livelier expression for πᾶν ποιῆσον.

30 Φανβαρτὸν: not in the *Namenbuch* or *Onomasticon*. Other possible word divisions would produce Φανβάρ τὸν, Φάνβ ἄρτον, Φάν βάρτον (for βάρδον, 'mule'?), but none of this is particularly convincing. The dotted α could be read as ε, perhaps also as ι.

## INDEXES

Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored by conjecture or from other sources, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. An asterisk denotes a word not recorded in LSJ or Suppl. The article is not indexed, nor is *καί* in the documentary texts.

### I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

#### MENANDER, *Misoumenos* (3368–3371)

The A prefixed to line nos. has been omitted in 3368 fr. C (it does not apply). P = PIFAO inv. 8g.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p> <i>ἀγειν</i> 3368 B ii 93?<br/> <i>ἀεί</i> 3368 [A i 8 ?], B ii 100?<br/> <i>ἀήδης</i> 3368 B ii 91<br/> <i>ἄθλιος</i> 3368 A i 4 P 4<br/> <i>αἰρετός</i> 3368 A i 13 3369 i 13 P 13<br/> <i>αἰχίνεσθαι</i> 3368 B i 41 3369 i 41<br/> <i>αἰτία</i> 3368 B ii 96<br/> <i>αἰχμάλωτος</i> 3368 B i 37 3369 i 37 3370 37<br/> <i>ἄκρος</i> 3368 B ii 91? 3369 ii 91?<br/> <i>ἄλλὰ</i> 3368 B ii 88, 91, 93, [100?] 3369 i [26?],<br/>           30, 42, ii 93? 3370 30, 42<br/> <i>ἄλλος</i> 3368 A i 4<br/> <i>ἀλέειν</i> 3368 C 2?<br/> <i>ἀμελεῖν</i> 3368 B ii 92<br/> <i>ἀμφότερος</i> 3368 A i 8?<br/> <i>ἄν</i> 3368 A i 11, ii 55?, B ii 88?, 90, [98?], C [3?],<br/>           [8?] 3369 i 42? P 11<br/> <i>ἀναγκαῖος</i> 3368 B ii 96<br/> <i>ἀνθρώπινος</i> 3368 B i 44 3369 i 44<br/> <i>ἀνθρωπος</i> 3368 A i 4, ii 56? P 4<br/> <i>ἄνομος</i> 3368 B ii 100?<br/> <i>ἄνω</i> 3368 A i 7 P 7<br/> <i>ἀπαρῆν</i> 3369 i 33? 3370 33?<br/> <i>ἀπεύχεσθαι</i> 3369 i 42?<br/> <i>ἄπεινα</i> 3368 C 3<br/> <i>ἀπό</i> 3368 A i 8? 3369 i 25<br/> <i>ἀποδεικνύναι</i> 3368 B i 39 3369 i 39 3370 39<br/> <i>ἀποκναῖεν</i> 3369 i 21<br/> <i>ἀποκρίπτειν</i> 3369 i 42?<br/> <i>ἀπολλόναι</i> 3368 A i 18?, B ii 95? 3369 i 18?<br/> <i>Ἀπόλλων</i> 3368 C 4?<br/> <i>ἄρα</i> 3368 A i 4, 5<br/> <i>ἄστροψή</i> 3368 A ii 51 3369 i 51<br/> <i>ἄσπος</i> 3369 i 44?<br/> <i>αὐτός</i> 3368 A ii 52 3369 i 23<br/> <i>Ἀφροδίτη</i> 3368 A i 1 P 1         </p> | <p> <i>βαδίζειν</i> 3368 A ii 53 3369 i 53<br/> <i>βλάβη</i> [3368 B ii 92?]<br/> <i>βούλεσθαι</i> 3368 A i 11 3369 i 24?<br/> <i>βροντή</i> 3368 A ii 51<br/> <br/> <i>γάρ</i> 3368 A i 1, 10, ii 53, B ii 90, 100? 3369 i<br/>           28?, 31, 33, 44 3370 31, 33<br/> <i>γε</i> 3368 B ii [55?], [90?], 91, 98 3369 i 19?, 29?<br/> <i>Γερ( )</i> 3369 i 20–1, ii 82 3370 41–2<br/> <i>Γέρας</i> 3368 C 2 3369 i [23?], 26<br/> <i>γυνή</i> 3368 A ii 55? 3369 i 40 3370 40<br/> <br/> <i>δέ</i> 3368 A i 12 (<i>bis</i>), [B i 36?], A ii 52, B ii 86?, 98?,<br/>           C 3? 3369 i 16, 23?, 34? P 12 (<i>bis</i>)<br/> <i>δεικνύναι</i> 3368 B ii 97?<br/> <i>δεῖν</i> 3368 A ii 53, B ii 95<br/> <i>δεῖνα</i> 3368 A ii 54<br/> <i>δεινός</i> 3369 i 29<br/> <i>δέσποινα</i> 3368 B i 39? 3369 i 39?<br/> <i>δεσπότης</i> 3368 A i 16, B ii 97?, 98 3369 i 16<br/> <i>δῆ</i> 3368 A i 1, 15?, ii 55<br/> <i>δί</i> 3369 i 32 3370 32<br/> <i>διατρέβειν</i> 3369 i 19?<br/> <i>διατριβή</i> 3369 i 19?<br/> <i>διδόναι</i> 3369 i 40?<br/> <i>διηγέσθαι</i> 3368 B ii 98<br/> <i>δοκεῖν</i> [3369 i 45?]<br/> <i>δρῦνός</i> 3369 i 18<br/> <i>δύσποτος</i> 3368 A i 5 P 5<br/> <i>δυστυχής</i> 3369 i 20<br/> <br/> <i>ἐάν</i> [3369 i 30?]<br/> <i>ἐγείρειν</i> 3369 i 22<br/> <i>ἐγώ</i> 3368 A i 6, 10 (<i>bis</i>), 12, ii 54, B ii [85?],<br/>           [86?], C [4 ?], 6 3369 i 18?, 21, 22, [30?],<br/>           42?, 43 3370 42? P 12         </p> |
|---|---|

ἐγώγε 3368 B ii 88 3369 i 42? 3370 42?  
 εἰ 3369 i 22  
 εἰκόνα 3369 i 27  
 εἰκοτ[ 3369 ii 81  
 εἰκότως 3368 B i 34? 3369 i 34?  
 εἶνα 3368 A i 10, 13, 16, B i 45?, ii 85, 90 (bis),  
 96?, 97?, [C 8?] 3369 i 13 (bis), 16, [34]?, 44,  
 45 (bis)?, 51?, ii 85 P 10, 13 (bis), 16  
 εἴπειν 3368 A ii 54, 55?, B ii 91  
 εἰς 3369 i 31 3370 31  
 εἰκόνα 3368 C 5 [3369 i 28]  
 εἶτα 3368 B i 40, A ii 52 3369 i 40  
 εε[ 3368 A ii 68  
 ἐκείνος 3368 C 2?  
 ἐκλυτος 3368 C 7?  
 ἐλευός 3368 B i 36? 3369 i 36? 3370 36?  
 ἐλευθερία 3368 B i 38 3369 i 38 3370 38  
 ἐμμανοῦ 3368 A i 6 P 6  
 ἐμμανῆς 3368 A i 11 P 11  
 ἐμός 3369 i 16, 27  
 ἐν 3368 A i 2, 7 3369 i 28 P 2  
 ἐνδον 3368 A i 10 P 10  
 ἐξείναι 3368 A i 9, 10 P 10  
 ἐξείναι 3369 i 23?  
 ἐξιτητός 3368 A i 16? 3369 i 16? P 16?  
 ἐπάγειν [3368 C 6?]  
 ἐπί [3368 B i 35?]  
 ἐράν 3368 A i 5, 9, 12 P 5, 9  
 ἔργον [3368 C 5?]  
 ἐρωτικός 3368 A i 3 P 3  
 ἐσπέρα 3368 A i 8?  
 ἐσχατος 3369 i 35?  
 ἔτερος 3368 C 8?  
 εὐλογος 3368 B ii 100?  
 εὐρίσκειν 3368 B ii 95  
 εὐρύχοος 3368 B i 34 3369 i 34 3370 34  
 ἔχειν 3368 A i 9, ii 52 [3369 i 42?] P 9  
 ἐχθές 3369 i 31 3370 31

Ζεὺς 3368 A ii 55? 3369 i [26?], [50?]

ἡ 3369 i 25?  
 ἡδ[ 3368 A ii 58  
 ἡδῆ 3368 A ii 54  
 ἡλικία 3368 B ii 94?  
 ἡμέτερος 3369 i 32 3370 32

θεᾶσθαι 3368 C 5?  
 θεός 3368 A i 2, 15, B ii 89? P 2, 15  
 θεράπαινα 3368 B i 39 3369 i 39 3370 39  
 θέρος 3368 A i 17 3369 i 17  
 Θρ(ακυινθης) 3368 B i 35-6 3370 40-1  
 θύεν 3368 B ii 89  
 θύρα 3368 A i 6 3369 i 20? P 6

ἰάνα 3370 32  
 ἰμάτιον [3369 i 40?]  
 ἰστάναι 3368 A i 6, 14? P 6

καθεύδειν 3368 A i 9 3369 i 21, 22?, 26 P 9  
 καθορᾶν 3369 i 31?  
 καί 3368 A i 11, 14, C 4 3369 i 14, 28?, 41  
 3370 41 P 14  
 καιρός [3369 i 29?]  
 κακοδαίμων 3368 B ii 88 3369 ii 88  
 κακός 3368 B ii 90, 95  
 καλεῖν 3368 A i 14?, B ii 89? 3369 ii 89?  
 καλός 3369 i 45?  
 κᾶν 3369 i 28 (see n.)  
 καταβαίνειν 3368 C 1  
 κατακίεσθαι 3368 A ii 52 3369 i 52  
 καταλείπειν 3369 i 33 3370 33  
 κᾶτω 3368 A i 7 P 7  
 κελεύειν 3368 C 2? 3369 i 24, 26  
 κηδεῖν 3369 i 27  
 κνίξεν [3368 C 4?]  
 κράζειν 3368 A ii 53  
 κυρία 3369 i 45?  
 κίων 3369 i 15

λαλεῖν 3369 i 14 P 14  
 λάφυρα 3369 i 35 3370 35  
 λᾶνα 3369 i 42?  
 λέγειν 3368 A i 3, 15? 3369 i 15?, 41 3370 41  
 P 3, 15?  
 λείπειν [3368 C 4?]  
 λόγος 3368 A i 2 P 2  
 λυπεῖν 3368 B i 36? 3369 i 36? 3370 36?  
 λαποδύτης 3368 C 6

μά 3369 i 15, [26?] P 15  
 Μαγνήτις 3369 i 43  
 μακάριος 3369 i 28  
 μάλα 3368 C 4  
 μανία 3368 B ii 87  
 μέγιστος 3369 i 30 3370 30  
 μεθίναυ [3368 A ii 56?]  
 Μένανδρος 3371 2  
 μέρος 3368 A i 1 P 1  
 μέσος 3368 A i 17 3369 i 17  
 μεσοῦν 3368 A i 8 P 8  
 μετέχειν 3368 A i 2  
 μέχρι 3368 A i 8? P 8?  
 μέχρως 3368 A i 8?  
 μή 3368 B ii 98?, [C 6?]  
 μῆν 3368 B ii 93  
 μαρῶς 3368 B ii 97?  
 μάρως 3368 B ii 92  
 μικρός 3368 B ii 97  
 μυστίν 3369 i [43?], [44?]  
 μύτος 3369 i 43 3370 43

Μισοῦμένος 3371 1?  
 μύον 3368 B ii 89  
 Μυός 3368 B i 36?]

νέος [3369 i 43?]  
 νομίξεν 3368 B i 40 3369 i 40 3370 40  
 νοός [3368 B ii 85?]  
 νύξ 3368 A i 6, 8?, 16?, C 5 3369 i 28 P 6, 8  
 νύξ 3368 A i 1, ii 51

ὄδε 3369 i 45?  
 οἰκία 3369 i 31, 38 3370 31  
 ὀμνῶν 3368 B ii 99?  
 ὄμως 3368 B i 42 3369 i 42  
 ὄνομα 3368 A ii 54  
 ὄραν 3368 A i 5, C 5 [3369 i 29? (bis?)]  
 ὄς 3368 B ii 98, C 8?  
 ὄστις [3368 B ii 95?]  
 ὄτι 3369 i 34?  
 οὐ 3368 A i 12, B ii 100?, C 2, [8?] 3369 i 18,  
 [21], ii 79?, 81  
 οὐδέ 3368 A i 15, B i 45, ii 90 3369 i 15, 30, 45?  
 P 15  
 οὖν [3368 C 8?] [3369 i 41?]  
 οὐποτε 3369 i 24?  
 οὐτος 3368 A i 2, 11, ii 55?, C 7 3369 ii 79?,  
 85?, [90?] P 2, 11  
 ὄψις 3368 B ii 93?

παιδική 3368 A ii 53  
 παρά 3368 A i 10  
 παραπομπή 3368 B i 35 3369 i 35 3370 35  
 παραχρήμα [3368 B ii 86?]  
 παρῆναι [3369 i 27?]  
 παρίναυ 3368 B ii 98?  
 παρορᾶν 3368 B ii 86 3369 i 31?, ii 86  
 πᾶς 3368 A ii 55, B ii 89 3369 i 28?  
 περί 3368 A i 2 P 2  
 περιβάλλειν 3368 B ii 86?  
 περιμένειν 3369 i 22  
 περιπατεῖν 3368 A i 7, C 6? 3369 i 17, 21 P 7  
 περιτιθέναι 3368 B i 38? 3369 i 38?  
 πλείστος 3368 A i 1, 3 P 1  
 ποδῆν 3368 B ii 94?  
 ποιεῖν 3368 A i 12 3369 i 25 P 12  
 ποῖος 3368 B ii 90?  
 πολὺς 3368 A ii 51  
 πόνος 3368 B ii 87?  
 ποτέ 3368 B ii 96?, [C 6?]  
 πότερος 3369 i 24?  
 πράγμα 3368 B ii 95  
 πριασθαι 3368 B i 37 3369 i 37 3370 37  
 πρὸς 3368 A i 6, ii 54, [56?], B ii 99 [3369 i 42?]  
 προσέχειν 3368 B ii 85?  
 συνθάνεσθαι 3368 C i 1?

πω 3369 i 30 3370 30  
 πῶς [3368 C 8?] [3369 i 41?]

σαντοῦ 3369 i 25  
 σημαίνων [3369 i 30?]  
 σκεπτόν 3368 A ii 57?  
 σπεύδειν 3368 C i 1?  
 στενωπός 3368 A i 7 P 7  
 στρατιωτικός 3368 B ii 92, C 4  
 στρατόπεδον 3369 i 33? 3370 33?  
 σύ 3368 A i 1, 2, 8, 14, B i 36, ii 91, 98?, [99?],  
 [C 4?] 3369 i 14, 21, 23?, 29?, 31, 32, 36,  
 42?, 43? 3370 32 P 2, 8, 14  
 συνάξειν 3368 B ii 99  
 σφόδρα 3368 B ii 90 3369 i 46?  
 σχεδόν 3368 A i 8 P 8  
 σχολή [3369 i 31?]

ταλαιπωρεῖν 3368 C 8?  
 ταλαίπωρος 3368 C 8?  
 τάλας 3368 A ii 56 3369 i 42?  
 τᾶν 3369 ii 82  
 τασ[ 3369 ii 82  
 τάττειν 3369 i 34 3370 34?  
 τε 3368 A i 2, 7, 9, 10, B ii 99 (bis?), 100?, C 7  
 3369 i 29?, 45? P 2, 3, 7, 9, 10  
 τηρεῖν [3369 i 50?]  
 τις 3368 i 12?, ii 56, B ii 96, [99?] 3369 i 29  
 P 4  
 τίς 3368 B i [36?], [37?], 40, A ii 52, 54, B ii  
 88 3369 i [21], [24?], 40, ii 88, 90?  
 τοιοῦτος 3369 i 25  
 τοῖχος 3369 ii 79  
 τοσοῦτος 3368 A i 18? 3369 ii 79?  
 του[ 3368 A ii 65  
 τρέμειν 3368 A i 14 3369 i 14 P 14  
 τρέφειν [3369 i 42?]  
 τρόπος 3368 A ii 56? 3369 ii 83?

ὕβριξεν 3369 i 36, 41? 3370 36  
 ὕεν 3368 A ii 51, 56  
 ὑπαβριος 3368 A i 12 P 12  
 ὑπερέκεινος 3368 B ii 93  
 ὑπερρεπ[ωφ(?) 3369 ii 84  
 ὑπό 3368 B i 37 (bis?) 3369 i 37 3370 37  
 ὑποοεῖν 3369 i 44

φάναι 3368 A ii 53  
 φείγειν 3368 C 7  
 φιλονικία 3368 B ii 87 3369 ii 87  
 φίλος 3368 B ii 85?  
 φιλοσοφεῖν 3369 i 17?  
 φιλόφρων 3368 B ii 88?  
 φράζειν 3368 B i 42 3369 i 42



φροντίς 3368 A i 3 P 3  
 φδλον 3368 B ii 97  
 χειμών 3368 A i 13  
 χρόνος 3369 i 32 3370 32  
 χρυσιον 3368 B i 39 3369 i 39

## II. EMPERORS AND REGNAL YEARS

CONSTANTINE I, CONSTANTINE II, AND CONSTANTIUS κε, ιε, ζ 3384 8, 14	CONSTANTINE I (DECEASED), CONSTANTIUS, AND CONSTANS λς, ιη, θ 3387 5 λς, ιθ, ι 3388 4
CONSTANTINE I, CONSTANTINE II, CONSTANTIUS, CONSTANS, AND DALMATIUS λα, κα, ιγ, δ, β 3385 4	CONSTANTIUS AND JULIAN λδ, γ 3390 7 λς, ε 3391 7 3392 8
CONSTANTINE I, CONSTANTINE II, CONSTANTIUS, AND CONSTANS λβ, κβ, ιδ, ε 3386 12	CONSTANTIUS AND JULIAN, BOTH DECEASED (OXY- RHYNCHITE ERA) μς, ις 3395 14

## III. CONSULS

ἵπατείας Ἰουίνου Βάσσου καὶ Φλαυίνου Ἀβλα- βίου τῶν λαμ(πρωτάτων) ἐπάρχων (AD 331) 3384 1-2	τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἐπάρχου ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ Φλαυίνου Ῥωμυόλλου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου (AD 343) 3389 1-3
ἵπατείας Φλαυίνου Οὐρσου καὶ Πολεμίου τῶν λαμπροτάτων (AD 338) 3386 1-2	ἵπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ καὶ Οὐάλεντος αἰωνίου Ἀγούστου (AD 365) 3393 1-2
ἵπατείας τῆς προκεκμένης 3386 27	
ἵπατείας Φρουρίου [sic; cf. n. ad loc.] Πλακίδου	

## IV. INDICTIONS

ινδικτίων α 3424 5, 7, 10 n. β 3424 10 n.	γ 3392 4, 6 3415 10 δ 3415 10 3419 7, 13 ε 3395 9 3424 5, 7, 10 n.
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## V. MONTHS

Ἀθύρ 3385 4 3397 introd. 8 Ἐπεφ 3390 7 Θάβ 3427 4 Μεσορῆ 3395 14 Παυν 3392 8 3393 2	Παχών 3387 5 Τῆβι 3391 7 3393 17 3414 4 Φαμενώθ 3389 4 Φαρμοῦθι 3384 2, 7, 13 3386 11, 27 Χοϊακ 3388 4
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## VI. PERSONAL NAMES

Ἀβλάβιος, Flavius *see* Index III (AD 331)  
 Ἰγουετος *see* Index III (AD 365)  
 Ἀθανάσιος 3430 32  
 Ἀθανάσιος, *cornicularius* 3424 4  
 Ἀθανάσιος, *propoliteuomenos* 3394 16  
 Ἀθηνάδαρος, f. of Eulogia 3428 13  
 Ἀκῶρις, foster son of Choos the tabularius  
3411 6  
 Ἀλέξανδρος, guard (?) 3402 6  
 Ἀλεξοῦς 3428 18  
 Ἀμάτιος 3429 5  
 Ἀμμωνᾶς, field-guard 3420 33  
 Ἀμμωνιανός 3420 11, 30  
 Ἀμμωνίος 3396 27(?) 3417 5 3419 2 3420  
3, 48 3421 2  
 Ἀμμωνίος, late councillor of Alexandria, f. of  
Fl. Ammonion and Fl. Helladius 3386 6  
 Ἀμμωνίων 3385 1 3396 27(?)  
 Ἀμμωνίων, Fl., s. of Ammonius, b. of Helladius  
3386 5  
 Ἀμόσις 3420 14  
 Ἀμυνοῦς, d. of Psenamunis 3428 2  
 Ἀμυνάριον, wife of Apion 3428 14  
 Ἀπία, Aur. 3389 5, 18  
 Ἀπία, w. of Aur. Papnuthis 3396 21  
 Ἀπικ, f. of Hierax 3429 12 n.  
 Ἀπίων 3423 5 n.  
 Ἀπίων, assistant to a strategus 3427 5  
 Ἀπίων, h. of Amonarion 3428 14  
 Ἀπολλόνιος 3400 29, 31, 32 3422 1  
 Ἀπολλόνιος, f. of Dionysius 3429 8  
 Ἀπολλῶς 3397 introd. 1, 5  
 Ἀπολλῶς, s. of Dionysius 3429 15  
 Ἀπόσις 3387 2  
 Ἀσίων 3430 3, 15, 26  
 Ἀσυνκρίθιον, Flavia, d. of Achilleus 3386 4  
 Ἀτρή, caretaker 3407 2  
 Ἀτρία, m. of Aur. Maria 3384 5  
 Ἀτρηλία *see* Ἀτρία, Maria  
 Ἀυρήλιος *see* Ἀφθγκις, Διογένης, Δωρόθεος, Ἐλ-  
λάδιος, Θεωνάμμων, Παννοῦθις, Σαραπάμμων,  
Σαρμάτης  
 Ἀββόνιος, Fl., s. of Flavianus, gymnasiarch and  
councillor 3386 3  
 Ἀφούς 3397 introd. 8  
 Ἀφούς, f. of -ους 3429 18.  
 Ἀφύγκιος (= Aur. Aphynchis s. of Horos?)  
3385 2  
 Ἀφούγκις, Aur., s. of Horos, h. of Maria, f. of  
Aur. Papnuthis and Dorotheus, perhaps also of  
Tercus, Gerontius, Euthis, and Mikke;  
 father-in-law of Apias 3384 3 3386 8, 28  
3389 7, 21 3393 5 3394 20, 21 3396 1, 32  
 Ἀχλλεύς, f. of Flavia Asyncrithion, former *vir*  
*perfectissimus* 3386 4  
 Βαρβάτιος, Fl. 3428 10  
 Βαροῦσις, guard 3408 4 3409 3  
 Βάσσο, Iunius *see* Index III (AD 331)  
 Γέμελλος, armed messenger (?), monk (?) 3397  
introd. 9  
 Γερόντιος 3396 23 3428 11  
 Γερόντιος, soldier 3412 3  
 Δημήτριος, armed messenger 3412 4  
 Δέθμος 3430 2  
 Διογένης 3407 11  
 Διογένης, employer of Dorotheus and Papnuthis  
(*praepositus pagi*?) 3415 1 3416 1  
 Διογένης, landlord 3398 18  
 Διογένης, b. of Hieracion 3404 4, 16  
 Διογένης, Aur., riparius 3393 3  
 Διονύσιος 3427 9  
 Διονύσιος, f. of Apollon 3429 15  
 Διονύσιος, h. of Thaesia 3392 1  
 Διονύσιος, s. of Apollonius 3429 8  
 Διόσκορος 3419 9, 17  
 Διόσκορος, f. of Thermuthion 3428 12  
 Διοσκουρίδης 3394 introd. 3  
 Δωρόθεος 3419 5 3426 8, 11  
 Δωρόθεος, assistant of Eulogius 3393 20  
 Δωρόθεος, merchant 3429 15  
 Δωρόθεος, wine-seller 3426 2 3429 10  
 Δωρόθεος, Aur., s. of Aur. Aphynchis and Maria,  
gs. of Horos, b. of Papnuthis 3392 9 3393 4  
3394 2, 21 3395 5 3396 23 3397 1 3398 1  
3399 1 3401 introd. 2 3401 2 3402 2 3408 2, 31  
3409 1, 29 3410 2, 40 3411 2 3412 1 3413 1  
3414 1 3415 1 3416 2 3417 2 3419 5(?)  
 Ἐλλάδιος, Aur., s. of Iulianus 3395 17  
 Ἐλλάδιος, Flavius, s. of Ammonius 3386 5  
 Ἐρμίας 3430 32  
 Εὐδαίμων, s. of Theodoros, banker 3396 7, 9  
 Εὐδαίμων, assistant of Diogenes 3415 3  
 Εὐθησις 3396 24  
 Εὐθλογία, d. of Athenodoros 3428 13  
 Εὐλόγιος 3416 introd. 10  
 Εὐλόγιος, f. of Sarapion, councillor 3393 6, 18  
 Εὐλόγιος, landlord 3400 25  
 Εὐλόγιος, *praepositus pagi* 3400 30 3425 7  
 Εὐτρώγιος 3398 5, 19

Ζωιλᾶς 3420 40  
Ζωίλος 3409 26 n.

Ἡλίας, farmer 3388 2  
Ἡλιόδωρα *see* Πομπηία Ἡ.  
Ἡράκλεια, w. of Chous 3396 26  
Ἡράκλειος, ex-logistes 3395 3  
Ἡράς 3404 13 3423 4

Θαΐσις, w. of Dionysius 3392 1  
Θεόγνωστος 3416 introd. 13  
Θερδ( ), s. of Copreus 3428 6  
Θεόδωτος 3430 1  
Θεόδουλος 3428 7, 21  
Θεόδωρος, f. of Eudæmon 3396 8  
Θερμόθιον, d. of Dioscorus 3428 12  
Θεωνάμμων, Aur., s. of Paulus, ship captain 3395 1, 15  
Θώνιος, f. of Copreus 3429 13, 16  
Θώνιος, s. of Copres 3394 introd. 2  
Θώνις 3392 introd. 2

Ἱερακίων, b. of Diogenes 3404 1  
Ἱεραξ, s. of Apis 3429 12 n.  
Ἱεραξ, confectioner 3390 3  
Ἰουλιανός, f. of Aur. Helladius 3395 17  
Ἰούλιος Βάσκος *see* Index III (AD 331)  
Ἰεῖακ 3413 2  
Ἰεῖακ, f. of -los 3429 9  
Ἰεῖακ Φανβαρτός (?) 3430 30  
Ἰεῖδωρος 3399 4  
Ἰεῖδωρος, athlete 3426 9

Κάκτωρ 3429 7  
Κληματία, landlady 3406 1  
Κολλούθος or Κολλούθης, assistant of Theodulus 3428 7  
Κοπρέας, armed messenger (same as Κοπρέυς?) 3416 14  
Κοπρέυς 3412 9  
Κοπρέυς, armed messenger (same as Κοπρέας?) 3416 introd. 8  
Κοπρέυς, f. of Theod( ) 3428 6  
Κοπρέυς, s. of Thonius 3429 13, 16  
Κοπρής 3397 introd. 11  
Κοπρής, f. of Thonius 3394 introd. 2  
Κορηλίωv, f. of Saraeus 3428 3

Λάμμακος 3397 introd. 2  
Λούκιος 3407 25

Μακάριος, cook 3405 2  
Μάξιμος, *meizon* of Leuciu 3417 2 3419 1(?)  
3422 1 3428 17(?)

Μαρία, w. of Aur. Aphynchis, m. of Aur. Dorotheus and Papnuthis 3396 2 3403 2  
Μαρία, Aur., d. of Pathermutius and Attia 3384 5  
Μάρκος 3423 4  
Μαρτύριος, assistant of Gerontius 3428 11  
Μέλας 3408 30  
Μικκή 3396 25  
Νεπωτιανός 3407 10

Ἰ Ολύμπιος, Flavius, *praeses Augustammicae* 3389 13  
Οθαλεντιανός, emperor, *see* Index III (AD 365)  
Οθάλης, emperor, *see* Index III (AD 365)  
Οὔρος, Flavius, *see* Index III (AD 338)

Παγάς 3406 3, 5, 11  
Παθάς 3397 introd. 3, 6  
Παθερμούσιος, f. of Aur. Maria, h. of Attia 3384 5  
Παλλαδής 3396 30  
Παμουναίς, vine-worker 3387 1  
Πανεχώτης 3398 3  
Παπνούσις 3426 13 3429 7  
Παπνούσις or Παπνούσις, Aur., s. of Aur. Aphynchis and Maria, b. of Aur. Dorotheus, h. of Aprias 3388 1 (-τ-) 3389 20 (-τ-) 3390 1 3391 1 (-τ-) 3393 4 3394 2 (-τ-), 20 3395 5 3396 2, 32 3397 2 (-τ-) 3398 2 3399 2 3400 1 (-τ-) 3401 1 3402 2 3403 1 3404 1 3405 1 3406 2 3407 1 3415 2 (-τ-) 3416 1 (-τ-) 3417 1

Παπνούσις, *see* Παπνούσις, Aur.  
Παρίων, banker 3428 1  
Παῖακ, notary 3390 1, 7  
Παῖδος, f. of Aur. Theonammon 3395 2  
Παῖσις 3406 9  
Πανείριος, f. of Sarapeus 3420 29  
Πανείρις, f. of Horus 3427 1  
Πέταλος 3421 12  
Πετρεμόνιος 3396 29  
Πλάκιδος, Furius, *see* Index III (AD 343)  
Πολέμιος, Flavius, *see* Index III (AD 338)  
Πομπηία Ἡλιόδωρα 3428 8  
Πουδός 3397 introd. 4  
Πραός 3400 8, 10, 11  
Πτολεμαῖος, councillor 3398 10

Ῥίων 3428 15  
Ῥόμουλλος, Flavius, *see* Index III (AD 343)

Σαραηός, d. of Cornelion 3428 3  
Σαραπάμμων 3387 1 3388 1, 3 3396 7, 16  
3419 3 3420 2, 47 3427 8  
Σαραπάμμων, Aur. 3386 30.

Σαραπάς 3385 1  
Σαραηός, d. of Pausirius 3420 29  
Σαραπίων, f. of Horigenies 3428 4  
Σαραπίων, s. of Eulogius 3393 20  
Σαρμάτης 3429 14, 19  
Σαρμάτης, Aur., riparius 3393 3  
Σεραπίων 3421 2  
Σεργήος, decurion 3416 11  
Σενήρος 3394 introd. 4  
Σύρος 3420 44

Ταΐσις 3396 29  
Τασιβάνις 3396 27  
Τερησός 3396 22  
Τούρβων 3410 19

Φανβαρτός (?) *see* Ἰεῖακ Φ.  
Φηλιξ 3397 13  
Φλιππος, foster-child of Serapion 3421 10  
Φλαβιανός, f. of Flavius Aphthonius 3386 3  
Φλάβιος 3413 8  
Φλαυία Ἀσσηκρήθιον, d. of Achilles 3386 4  
Φλαουιανός, Flavius, *praeses Augustammicae* or prefect of Egypt 3394 1  
Φλόουιος Ἀβλάβιος *see* Index III (AD 331)  
Φλόουιος Ἀμμωνίων, s. of Ammonius 3386 5  
Φλόουιος Ἀψθόνιος, s. of Flavianus, gymnastarch, councillor 3386 3  
Φλ(άουιος) Βαρβάτιος 3428 10  
Φλόουιος Ἐλλαδίδος, s. of Ammonius 3386 5  
Φλό(α)σιος Ἰ Ολύμπιος, *praeses Augustammicae*, 3389 12  
Φλόουιος Οὔρος *see* Index III (AD 338)

## VI. PERSONAL NAMES

Φλόουιος Πολέμιος *see* Index III (AD 338)  
Φλόουιος Ῥόμουλλος, *see* Index III (AD 343)  
Φλόουιος Φλαουιανός, *praeses Augustammicae* or prefect of Egypt 3394 1  
Φούριος Πλάκιδος (φορμιος π. pap.) *see* Index III (AD 343)  
Φρούριος Πλάκιδος *see* Φούριος Π.

Χαρήμων 3408 2, 32 3409 2, 30 3410 3, 40  
Χωσός 3409 introd. 1  
Χωσός, agent 3428 5  
Χωσός, *tabularius* 3411 3  
Χωσός, h. of Heracleia 3396 25

Ψεναμόνιος 3397 introd. 10  
Ψεναμόνιος, f. of Amunus 3428 2  
Ψυούρι 3400 8, 9, 26  
Ψύρος 3426 7

Ἰ Αριγενής, s. of Sarapion 3428 4  
Ἰ Ὠρίων 3428 20 3429 9, 12, 13  
Ἰ Ὠρίων, assistant of Theodulus 3428 21  
Ἰ Ὠρίων, *praepositus pagi* 3391 1, 8 3392 9 3405 1, 5 3412 1  
Ἰ Ὠρος, f. of Aphynchis, gf. of Aur. Papnuthis and Dorotheus 3384 3 3386 8 3389 7  
Ἰ Ὠρος, s. of Paysiris 3427 1

[...]λλάδιον 3427 10  
... αἰσιπτος 3429 12  
... τας the elder 3429 10  
... λος, s. of Isak 3429 9  
[...]ους, s. of Aphous 3429 18

## VII. GEOGRAPHICAL

## (a) COUNTRIES, NOMES, CITIES, ETC.

Ἀθριβετιῶν πόλις 3396 20  
Ἀλεξάνδρεια 3396 13, 17, 19 3412 7 ἡ λαμ-  
προτάτη Ἀ. 3386 7  
Ἀλεξανδρεῖς 3401 6  
Ἰ Ἰνδία 3408 18  
Κωνσταντινή (nome) 3423 12  
Κινώ 3398 12 3410 20 3423 16  
Κωνσταντιανόπολις, error for Κωνσταντινόπολις 3415 8

Κωνσταντινόπολις 3415 8 (κωνσταντιανοπολεως pap.)  
Ἰ Οασιτικός 3425 1  
Ἰ Ὀξυρυγγίτης (nome) 3393 3  
Ἰ Ὀξυρυγγιῶν πόλις 3386 14 3389 6 3394 3 ἡ λαμπρὰ καὶ λαμπροτάτη Ἰ Ο. π. 3384 4 3386 8-9 3395 3-4  
Πανοπολιτ[ ] 3410 25

## (b) VILLAGES, ETC.

Ἀκινδύνου *see* ἐπόκιον Ἀ.  
Βερέκ 3400 3, 33

Βρώ 3429 7  
ἐπόκιον Ἀκινδύνου 3407 8

ἐποίκιον Φλοῦ 3427 2  
 Δευκίου 3422 1 3428 9, 17  
 Μύτρων 3428 5  
 Νεσμίμω 3420 12  
 Παγγουλεσίου 3428 15 n.  
 Π. . . . . είου 3428 15  
 Σαδάλου 3406 2  
 Κατύρου 3408 26 3410 20, 21 3423 12, 18

Σύρων 3398 6  
 Ταμπειμού 3387 3 3408 9, 29 3409 6 3410 24  
 3423 2, 11  
 Τβώ 3429 7 n.  
 Τερόθις 3393 7, 20 3425 8  
 Φλοῦ see ἐποίκιον Φ.  
 Υῶβθις 3408 5

## (c) AMPHODA

Μυροβαλάνου 3384 9

Νεμεσίων 3386 15

## VIII. RELIGION

ἐορτή 3406 10 (ωρτην pap.) 3424 introd.  
 θεῖος 3396 3 3417 16  
 Θεός 3397 5 3417 9, 26 3418 7 3421 4  
 ἱερός see Index IX

κυριακός: κυριακή ἡμέρα 3407 16  
 μοναχός 3397 introd. 9 (?)  
 πανελεῆμων 3421 4  
 πρόνοια 3396 3 3417 16

## IX. OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TERMS AND TITLES

ἀγροφύλαξ 3420 38 =  
 ἀπαιτητής 3393 12 3397 6  
 βοηθός 3391 2 3392 10 3393 6, 20 3400 29,  
 31, 32 3412 1 3414 1 3415 2, 3 3416 3  
 3427 5 3428 7, 11, 21  
 βουλευτής 3386 3, 6  
 γραμματεὺς: γ. τῆς πόλεως 3400 7  
 γ. τῆς κώμης Βερκού 3400 33  
 γυμ(νασιάρχος) or γυμ(νασιάρχης) 3386 3  
 δεκάδαρχος 3416 11  
 δημόσιος 3400 15  
 διασημότατος 3386 5 3389 11  
 ἐπαρχος (praefectus praetorio) 3384 2 (praefectus  
 Aegypti) 3398 9, 16 ἔ. ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου 3389 2  
 ἐπὶ σιπτιού, οἱ 3408 9  
 ἡγεμών (praeses Augustammicae) 3389 12 3394  
 4 (?) 3396 15 (praefectus Aegypti) 3394 4 (?)  
 ἱερός 3389 2 3394 6  
 καθολικός 3408 27 3416 6 3423 19 3428 19  
 καθόλου 3410 9 n.  
 κομηνταρχίος 3416 introd. 12  
 κόμης 3391 5  
 κορικοκ(λά)ρχης 3424 4  
 κομάρχη, cf. κώμαρχος 3397 11, 17, 19 3408 6  
 3409 7 3415 12 3423 1  
 κώμαρχος, cf. κομάρχη 3397 10  
 λαμπρός: λαμπρότατος 3384 2 3386 2 3389 1-2, 3  
 3394 1 3398 16 See also Index VII (a) s.v.

Ἀλεξάνδρεια and Ὁξυρυγχιδῶν πόλις  
 λογιστής 3395 3  
 μαγιστρός 3416 7  
 μεζών 3422 1  
 νομικός 3390 1  
 ὀφικιάλιος 3391 4  
 πεδιοφύλαξ 3420 34  
 πολιτευόμενος 3393 6 3398 11  
 πραγματευτής 3428 5  
 πραιπόσιτος 3392 9 3400 15, 23, 30 3425 7  
 πραιτώριον 3389 2  
 πρόεδρος 3420 44  
 προπολιτευόμενος 3394 16  
 βιπάριος 3393 3  
 εὐτολόγος 3408 7, 13, 24 3415 11  
 σπεκουλάτωρ 3414 2  
 στρατηγός 3390 4 3412 4 3427 6  
 στρατιώτης 3400 17, 22 3412 3  
 σύμμαχος 3397 introd. 9 (?) 3408 4 3412 4  
 3416 introd. 9 3416 15 3419 12, 20  
 ταβουλάριος 3411 3  
 ταμείον 3394 6  
 τίρων 3401 10  
 τραπέζιτης 3396 8 3428 1  
 φουρρός 3402 6 n. 3409 3  
 φύλαξ 3399 7 3402 3  
 χειριστής 3429 16, 20

## X. PROFESSIONS, TRADES, AND OCCUPATIONS

ἀθλητής 3426 9  
 ἀλιεύς 3423 8  
 ἀμπελουργός 3387 1  
 γεωδός 3396 7, 15 3398 17 3400 1, 25, 28, 35  
 3406 1 3407 1 3416 introd. 8, 10, 13  
 γεωργός 3388 2 3428 9  
 ἐργάτης 3397 4, 8  
 κάπηλος 3429 15  
 κυβερνήτης 3395 2

λανάριος 3403 9  
 μάγειρος 3405 2  
 οἰνοπράτης 3426 2 3429 11  
 πασιλλῆς 3390 3 (βασιλλῆς)  
 προνοητής 3388 1 3406 2 3407 2  
 ταυρελάτης 3407 3  
 \*υελάς 3428 14? (oiseia pap.)  
 φροντιστής 3407 2

## XI. MEASURES AND MONEY

## (a) MEASURES

ἄρουρα 3420 46  
 (ἀρουρα) 3392 4 3424 2, 4-9 3428 1-4, 6, 8,  
 10, 12-14  
 ἀρτάβη 3388 2 3395 10 3406 4  
 ἀ(ρτάβη) 3429 2  
 ἀ(ρτάβη) 3388 3 3395 11 3410 16 3425 4  
 γραμίμα 3420 44  
 δέσιμη 3429 14  
 διπλοῦν 3430 32

κάγκελλος 3400 15 (κακελλού)  
 κεράμιον 3385 2 3406 9 3425 3  
 κνίδιον 3422 3  
 κοῦμουλόν see Index XII  
 λίτρα 3391 6 (bis), 8 3412 6 3414 3 3420  
 15, 16, 17, 30, 43 3424 12 (bis)  
 μέτρον 3388 2 3400 13, 19, 29, 31  
 μούγιον 3413 10  
 σάβθιον 3387 3, 4 3425 2

## (b) MONEY

ἀργύριον (coin) 3393 15 3396 12 3397 13  
 3403 6, 8 3408 17 3412 9  
 δηνάριον 3390 5, 6 3396 14, 17 3397 introd. 2,  
 4, 6-11 3399 5, 7, 8 3401 6 3402 5, 6 3405  
 5 3408 19 (bis) 3409 introd. 1, 2 3410 17  
 3426 3, 5-13 3428 15-18, 20, 21 3429 24,  
 25  
 κέρμα 3401 8, 14

μονάς 3402 5  
 νομισμάτιον 3393 15 3396 11 3397 introd. 1, 3, 5  
 3399 8 3401 4, 11 3402 4 3415 5 3416  
 introd. 9, 11, 12, 14 3426 3 3429 17-19, 24  
 δλοκόττινος 3408 15  
 τάλαντον 3386 18 (ἀργ. τ.), 19 3396 14 3397  
 introd. 10 3424 4, 5 3427 3, 7-10 3429 8,  
 9, 11-13, 14 (bis), 15, 17-19, 21-3

## XII. TAXES

\*ἀδηληγάτευτον 3424 5  
 ἀλλαγή 3408 18  
 ἀναβολικός 3408 11  
 ἀνάνα 3408 21 3423 16  
 ἀναναικός 3392 2  
 ἀργύρια τῆς Ἰνδίας 3408 17  
 βουρδών 3420 46 3424 8  
 δημόσια 3393 8, 15 3430 12  
 εἶδος 3392 3 3420 19, 24  
 ἐσθής 3424 2  
 κομῶδιον 3424 3  
 κοῦμουλόν 3395 12 (κοῦμηλα)

ναθλον 3395 12 3424 3 3428 16  
 δλοκόττινος τῶν κριθῶν 3408 15  
 πρόσκαιρον 3392 2 3427 3  
 πρωτεύον 3408 12  
 σακκοφορικός 3395 13 (σακκοφ-)  
 τέλεμα 3394 5  
 τιρώντος 3424 9  
 χρυσαργύριον 3415 7  
 χρυσίον τῆς ἀρουρατίωνος 3397 22  
 χρυσός τῶν ἀλιέων 3423 7  
 χρυσός τῶν τιράνων 3401 10  
 χρυσός τῆς χαρῖβδευς 3423 5

## XIII. GENERAL INDEX OF WORDS

ἀβάσκαντος 3396 26, 28, 30  
 ἀγνώμων 3400 21  
 ἀγοράζω 3401 14  
 ἀγροικός 3420 7, 21  
 ἀγοφύλαξ *see* Index IX  
 ἀδελφή 3396 22, 24, 25, 30  
 ἀδελφός 3421 5  
 ἀδελφός 3390 1 3395 6 3396 22, 23 3397 1  
 3398 1, 23 3399 1, 10 3401 introd. 1 3401 1  
 3402 1 3404 2, 4 3405 1 3407 10, 18, 25  
 3411 1, 25 3413 1 3417 1, 5 3419 2, 4, 23  
 3421 1 3426 7  
 \*ἀδηληγάτευον *see* Index XII  
 ἀδία *see* ἀδηία  
 ἀεί 3394 19  
 ἀείρω *see* αἶρω  
 ἀηδία 3397 6  
 αἰδέομαι 3417 14, 23  
 αἶθρον 3384 10  
 αἰκία 3409 21 (εκηρα pap.)  
 αἰρέω 3392 6 (τό αἰρούν)  
 αἶρω 3396 16 3397 18  
 αἰσθάνομαι *see* αἰσθάνω  
 \*αἰσθάνω 3417 10 (εσθαντε pap.)  
 αἰτία 3413 3  
 αἴτιον 3409 14 3420 11  
 αἰώνιος 3393 2  
 ἀκοιλάντως 3386 21  
 ἀκούω 3416 20  
 ἀκροάω *or* ἀκροάζω 3398 12  
 ἀλευέω *see* Index X  
 ἀλλά 3393 11, 19 3394 7 3396 12 3401 13  
 3403 9 3407 13 3409 12 3411 18 3412 7  
 3415 9 3417 11 3420 43  
 ἀλλαγῆ *see* Index XII  
 ἄλλος 3408 5 3409 17 3413 16 3420 45  
 3430 13  
 ἄλλοτε 3417 30  
 ἀλόγως 3413 3  
 ἄμα c. gen. 3430 19, 26  
 ἄμα c. dat. 3413 8  
 ἀμέλεια 3403 3  
 ἀμελέω 3396 12 3403 9 3406 7 3407 19  
 3411 19 3420 43  
 ἀμέμπτως 3393 10  
 ἄμπελος 3424 6  
 ἀμπελοφυγία 3430 9  
 ἀμπελοφυγία *see* Index X  
 ἀμφόδον 3384 9 3386 14  
 ἀμφότεροι 3393 4 3394 2  
 ἀν, cf. ἀν 3393 8 3394 10 3416 19 3419 12, 21  
 ἀναβαίνω 3401 12 3417 19

ἀναβολικόν *see* Index XII  
 ἀναβώσκω 3420 44  
 ἀναγκή 3394 14  
 ἀναγκαῖος 3394 11 (?)  
 ἀνάγκη 3409 27 3420 7, 46  
 ἀνακομίζω 3419 18  
 ἀναλαμβάνω 3411 8  
 ἀνάλωμα 3397 3, 8, 16, 21 3426 4  
 ἀναφέρω 3406 7 3408 6 3409 18  
 ἀναφορά 3398 13  
 ἀνέρχομαι 3418 5  
 ἀνήκω: ἀνήκοντα 3384 11  
 ἀνθρωπος 3407 20 3417 10, 15, 27  
 ἀνώνα *see* Index XII  
 ἀνωτικός *see* Index XII  
 ἀντί 3393 21  
 ἀντιγράφω 3396 9 3398 20 3400 24, 32  
 ἀνω 3411 12, 15  
 ἀξίος 3386 25  
 ἀξίως 3393 22 3419 5, 15 3421 9  
 ἀπαυτέω 3393 12 3394 10 3400 9, 12, 17 3406  
 9 3408 23 3409 23 3417 21 3419 6 3420  
 43, 45 3423 8, 11, 17, 19  
 ἀπαύτησις 3393 9, 19, 21 3397 18 3408 20  
 3410 14 3419 12, 16, 21  
 ἀπαυτητής *see* Index IX  
 ἀπαντάω 3398 14 3400 3, 27 3407 25 3409 3  
 3413 4 3418 8 3419 4, 15  
 ἀπειλή 3400 26  
 ἀπέρχομαι 3396 20 3398 17  
 ἀπέχω 3420 35  
 ἀπρωτικός 3386 15  
 ἀπλοεὶς 3389 15  
 ἀπό 3384 3, 5, 6, 13 3386 8, 11, 23 3389 5, 7  
 3393 5, 13, 17 3394 2 3395 3 3397 17  
 3398 6 3400 21 3408 26 3409 6 3414  
 introd. 1 3415 6, 8 3416 13 3426 3 3428  
 15, 17 3429 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13  
 ἀποδίδωμι 3386 20, 29 3393 24, 25 3396 4, 32  
 3400 35  
 ἀπολαμβάνω 3421 7  
 ἀπόλυσις 3429 16  
 ἀπόλυσις 3409 17, 20  
 ἀποπληρόω 3393 6, 10  
 ἀποστέλλω 3393 20 3396 18 3397 4, 7, 11, 13,  
 18, 19, 23 3401 7, 13 3402 3 3403 7 3404 3  
 3408 10, 17, 23, 30 3410 6 (*bis*), 29 3412 3,  
 9 3415 4 3416 8 3418 3 3420 28, 33, 40  
 3422 3 (*bis*) 3423 3 3430 19, 25  
 ἀποσω- 3413 7  
 ἀποτίνω 3386 24  
 ἀποχή 3408 29 3410 13, 32 3420 30

ἀργύριον 3384 14 3386 18 3396 8, 9, 11, 17  
 3399 4, 8 3402 4 3404 5 *see also* Index  
 XI(b)  
 ἀρετή 3398 15  
 ἀρκετός 3407 24  
 ἀρκέω 3430 6  
 ἄρουρα *see* Index XI(a)  
 ἄρουρατικός 3397 22  
 ἄρσην 3409 19  
 ἀρτίβη *see* Index XI(a)  
 ἄρτι 3420 11  
 ἀρχή 3400 29  
 ἀσπάζομαι 3396 21 (*bis*), 22, 23, 24 (*bis*), 25-8, 30  
 (*bis*)  
 ἀυλή 3384 10  
 αὖριον 3401 8 3407 17, 24  
 αὖτις 3398 14 3420 10  
 αὐτός 3384 8 3385 2 3386 31 3389 21 3393  
 10, 20 3395 18 3396 16, 19, 26 (*bis*), 28, 30  
 3397 10, 11 3398 8, 19, 21 3400 4, 5, 12-14,  
 16, 17, 19, 21, 22, 33 3403 7, 8, 10 3404 5,  
 7, 15 3407 6 3409 5, 8, 10, 11, 13, 18 3410  
 34 3412 6, 8 3413 11 3416 16, 19 3417  
 9, 12, 13, 18, 19, 29, 30 3418 4 3419 6, 10,  
 11, 13-15, 20 3420 32, 36, 41 3421 11, 13  
 3430 8, 14, 18, 20, 26  
 — ('same') 3384 5, 8, 13 3386 14 3388 3  
 3389 7 3392 6 3393 5, 13, 15, 16 3396 6  
 3397 8 3400 31 3420 21, 36 3423 9 3426 11,  
 12 3429 14  
 αὐτῆς ὥρας 3416 4 3422 2  
 αὐτοῦ 3417 16  
 ἀβήμι 3397 15 3417 4, 11, 13, 18, 30  
 ἀβήμιση 3414 introd. 7  
 ἀφορμή 3393 26  
 ἄχρη (conj.) 3413 12  
 ἄχρη (prep.) 3408 25  
 ἄχρη (conj.) 3393 8 3400 5 3419 12, 20  
 ἄχρουν 3404 14 3411 7 3420 16, 19, 43 3424  
 11-13

βάλλω 3400 29  
 βαρῆς 3408 20  
 βάσις 3396 6  
 βαστάζω 3407 15  
 βαστιλῆς *see* παστιλλῆς  
 βεβαύω 3386 19  
 βιβλίον 3393 21  
 βλάπτω 3397 14  
 βοηθῆς 3406 5 3420 46 3421 11  
 βοηθῆς *see* Index IX  
 βουλητής *see* Index IX  
 βοῦλομαι 3399 3 3400 18, 24 3410 6  
 βουρδῶν *see* Index XII

γαμβρός 3430 18  
 γάρ 3396 7 3397 5, 14 3400 32 3401 4 3404  
 7, 10, 15 3409 25 3410 18, 22 3413 16  
 3416 10 3417 16, 29, 30 3418 7 3419 13  
 3420 10, 45 3430 6  
 γένημα 3395 9  
 γεοῦχος *see* Index X  
 γεωργός *see* Index X  
 γιγνώσκω 3399 3 *cf.* γινώσκω  
 γίνωμαι 3386 4, 6 3393 26 3401 9 3419 11  
 3420 23  
 γίνεσθαι, γίνονται marking equivalences and totals  
 3386 19 3387 4 3388 3 3391 6 3395 11  
 3399 7 3408 19 3427 7 3428 14(?) 3429 14  
 γινώσκω 3396 13 3397 9 *cf.* γιγνώσκω  
 γράμμα (letter) 3386 31 3389 21 3395 18  
 3396 4 3416 5 3420 5, 22, 35, 44 3421 8  
 3422 2  
 γράμμα (weight) *see* Index XI(a)  
 γραμματεῖς *see* Index IX  
 γράφω 3386 30 3389 16, 21 3395 18 3396 5,  
 6, 7, 11, 13, 15 3397 3 3400 18, 26 3401 3  
 3403 11 3409 24 3410 4, 34 3418 10 3420  
 4, 10, 12, 13, 23, 33, 39, 43 (*bis*), 45  
 γυμ(νασίαρχος) *or* γυμ(νασιαρχίας) *see* Index IX  
 γυνή 3392 1 3409 17 3428 14 3430 7, 16  
 δανείζω 3393 14 3394 6  
 δανειστής 3393 14, 18 3394 9, 12, 18  
 δέ 3386 20 3393 11 3394 4, 9 3396 13 3400  
 4, 6, 15, 20, 25, 33 3404 15 3407 21, 23  
 3408 14 3409 22 3414 introd. 8 3415 7, 9  
 3430 19  
 δείκνυμι 3411 22 3430 7  
 δεῖκα 3386 23  
 δέκα 3391 6, 9  
 δεκάδαρχος *see* Index IX  
 δέλφας 3425 5  
 δέομαι 3394 11(?)  
 δέσμη *see* Index XI(a)  
 δεσπότης 3393 1 3396 23 3398 9 3400 25, 35  
 3420 1, 47  
 δευο 3400 20  
 δεῦρο 3400 20 n.  
 δέχομαι 3400 20 n. 3416 4 3422 2  
 δή 3393 9 3394 introd. 1 3420 19  
 δηλῶς 3418 4 3420 5, 13, 15, 18 3422 5  
 \*δημοσάριος 3423 13  
 δημόσια *see* Index XII  
 δημόσιος, cf. δημόσια 3393 22 *see also* Index IX  
 δηνάριον *see* Index XI(b)  
 διά c. gen. 3387 2 3392 9 3397 introd. 2, 4  
 3399 7 3402 3 3403 10 3406 7 3412 9  
 3416 introd. 8, 13 3420 5 3422 3 3428 5, 7,  
 9, 11

διά c. acc. 3394 14 3406 8, 10 3409 14, 26 3413 3  
 3417 9 3419 15 3420 14, 22 3430 12  
 διάθεσις 3421 6  
 διακατέγω 3417 29  
 διακόσει 3399 6 3405 4  
 διαλύω 3417 17  
 διασημώτατος see Index IX  
 διαστέλλω 3400 33  
 διαφέρω 3400 8, 10  
 διάφορον 3417 25  
 δίδωμι 3390 3 3393 7, 8, 15 3396 10 3397 10,  
 16 3400 7 3404 6, 11, 13 16 (bis) 3417 15  
 3420 44 3424 introd. 3424 4 3427 5 3429  
 20 n.  
 (-)δίδωμι 3394 17(?)  
 δίκαιον (noun) 3389 14  
 δίκαιος 3417 26  
 διά 3419 10  
 διαπλύν see Index XI(A)  
 διώκω 3409 26  
 δοκέω 3407 18  
 δύναμαι 3393 24 3400 5, 26 3411 21 3419 14,  
 16 3430 22  
 δύς 3386 11 3406 9 3409 9, 16 3424 6 3430 32  
 εἶν (if) 3397 9 3398 6 3400 20 3404 8, 15  
 3409 11, 13 3417 17 3420 9, 35 see also κἄν  
 εἶν (particle) 3386 24, 25  
 εἰαυτοῦ 3420 8 3430 4 cf. αὐτοῦ  
 εἶω 3421 12 3430 5  
 ἐγκαλέω 3408 24 3409 19  
 ἐγώ 3386 20 3387 3 3389 9, 11 (bis), 13, 14  
 (κάμοι) 3391 4 3392 9 3395 16 3396 1  
 (bis), 4, 10, 11, 13, 18, 21, 22 (bis), 23-5, 27,  
 29, 30, 32 3397 1, 4, 11 3398 1, 4 (bis), 9,  
 15, 20 3399 1 3400 1, 3, 18 (bis), 24, 25, 28,  
 30, 32, 34, 35 3401 introd. 1 3401 1, 3, 8  
 3402 1 3403 1, 4 6 3404 4 3407 10, 21  
 3408 1, 31 3409 1, 4 (bis), 9 (καὶ γῶ), 16,  
 24-6, 29 3410 1, 32, 40 3411 1, 6, 17 3413 1  
 3414 introd. 7 3414 2 3416 5, 19 3417 1, 6,  
 11, 12 (καγῶ), 12, 13, 18, 24, 29, 30 3418 3, 5,  
 10 3419 2, 5 3420 1, 4, 10, 23, 25, 33, 40, 43  
 (bis), 44, 45 (καγῶ), 47 3421 1, 8 (bis) 3422  
 2, 3, 5 3426 13 3430 1, 10, 20, 29 see also  
 ἡμεῖς  
 εἰ 3396 9, 10 3400 18, 22, 26, 30 3404 10, 13  
 3409 8, 15, 17, 21, 22 3420 31 (bis)  
 εἶδον 3420 31 cf. σῖδα and δράω  
 εἶδος see Index XII  
 εἰκοσι 3386 18 3414 3 3415 6  
 ε. πέντε 3396 14  
 ε. πένσαρα 3415 4  
 εἰμί 3384 6 3386 11 3393 23 3394 10 3396 14  
 3397 9, 21 3400 15, 27 3404 10 3407 12, 24

3409 5, 11, 13 3417 26 3419 8 3430 11  
 see also τουτέστιν  
 εἶπερ 3408 22  
 εἶπον 3398 4, 8 3409 4, 11 cf. λέγω  
 εἰς 3387 2, 3 3388 2 3390 4 3391 3 3393 8,  
 15, 16, 20 3394 6, 11, 19 3395 8 3400 3  
 3403 8 3405 2 3406 3 3407 7 3408 5  
 3411 17, 21 3413 11 3414 2 3416 15  
 3417 22 3420 12, 20, 37 3422 3 3423 13  
 3426 8, 11 3429 4, 10 3430 6, 9, 31  
 εἰς, μία, ἐν 3387 3 3396 11 3399 5 3402 5  
 3412 8 3417 22 3420 27  
 εἰςω 3410 17  
 ἐκ, ἐξ 3389 10 3393 4, 26 3394 10 3400 5  
 3401 6 3404 6 3410 17 3420 16 3429 14,  
 16  
 ἕκαστος 3384 13 3386 13 3397 5 3410 33  
 3417 6 3420 24, 45, 46  
 ἐκβαίνω 3393 16 3409 10, 12, 14, 16, 23, 27  
 ἐκδίδωμι 3389 16  
 ἐκεῖ 3406 5  
 ἐκεῖνος 3396 5 3417 7  
 ἐκῆα see αἰκία  
 ἐκθεσις (εχθ- pap.) 3419 6 3420 41  
 ἐκουσίως 3386 9  
 ἐκτακτον 3406 5  
 ἐκτίνω 3386 25  
 ἐλαιούργιον 3410 10 3420 44, 45  
 ἐλέω 3394 15  
 ἐμβάλλω 3395 7 3410 20  
 ἐμβολή 3410 12  
 ἐμέναν (= ἐμέ) 3407 21  
 ἐμμέλεια 3393 22  
 ἐμμένω 3403 3  
 ἐμός 3430 5  
 ἐν 3384 8 3386 13 3393 11 3396 12, 13 3397  
 7, 14 (bis), 15 3400 24 3401 8, 13 3407 6,  
 13, 15, 24 3408 3 3412 10 3416 9 3418  
 9 3420 27, 45 3421 9 3427 2 3428 5  
 ἐνατος 3387 5 3429 6  
 ἐνεδρεῖα 3420 22  
 ἐνεδρεῖω 3407 19  
 ἐνεκεν 3393 21 3394 12 3397 21  
 ἐνενηκοντα 3390 5 (ερενηκοντα pap.)  
 ἐνέχυρον 3396 5, 6 3419 8, 18  
 ἐνίστημι 3384 7, 14 3386 12  
 ἐνοίκιον 3384 12 3386 17, 21, 29  
 ἐνοχλέω 3416 10 3417 6  
 ἐντάγιον 3408 30  
 ἐνταῖθα 3400 27  
 ἐντέλλομαι 3389 8 3403 5  
 ἐντολή 3389 15, 18  
 ἐντολικόν 3389 9  
 ἐντόπιος 3425 3  
 ἐντυγχάνω 3398 8

ἐντυχία 3389 10  
 ζῆ 3399 9 3406 4  
 ζεῦρατος 3394 4  
 ζεῦρατων 3407 6  
 ζῆσσι 3389 15  
 ζεῦρατος 3409 5, 10  
 ζεῦρατος 3405 3  
 ζεῦρατος 3396 19  
 ζῆω 3419 8  
 ἐορτή see Index VIII  
 ἐπανακάζω 3393 23  
 ἐπανάγκες 3386 20 3414 introd. 5, 7  
 ἐπαρχος see Index IX  
 ἐπεὶ 3393 13  
 ἐπέγω 3408 23  
 ἐπειδή 3407 14 3409 6 3411 5  
 ἐπεῖπερ 3401 8  
 ἐπερωτάω 3386 26 3389 16, 19 3414 introd. 3  
 ἐπέχω 3420 8  
 ἐπῶς see ἐφθός  
 ἐπὶ c. gen. 3384 9 3386 14 3393 7, 25 3396  
 16, 19, 20 3397 12 3399 4 3408 9 3409  
 7, 13 3417 20, 29 3429 20 3430 11  
 ἐπὶ c. dat. 3389 19 3393 10 3400 33 3413 15  
 3420 10  
 ἐπὶ c. acc. 3384 6 3386 10 3397 19 3409 18  
 3416 8 3418 6, 8 3423 2 3430 21  
 ἐπιδέχομαι 3386 10  
 ἐπιδίδωμι 3393 22 3394 20, 21 3400 33  
 ἐπιδοχή 3386 20, 26  
 ἐπικουῖ 3430 32  
 ἐπισκενῆ 3427 6  
 \*ἐπισκοπάζω 3410 9 n.  
 ἐπιτηδεύω 3422 3  
 ἐπιτρέπω 3389 8 3393 16, 18 3416 17  
 ἐποικίω 3407 8 3427 2  
 ἐπτά 3396 18  
 ἐρ. 3418 2  
 ἐργάτης see Index X  
 ἔργον 3403 12 3407 20 3408 22 3409 22  
 3411 17  
 ἐρενήκοντα see ἐνενηκοντα  
 ἔρημος 3430 6  
 ἔριον 3406 6 (ερεον), 11 (ερεον) 3420 37 3428 19  
 ἔρχομαι 3398 3 3400 16 3411 12, 13 3417 30  
 (bis) 3420 27  
 ἐσθῆς see Index XII  
 ἐσθῶ = σοῦ 3411 13  
 ἔστε 3416 19 (ἐστ' ἄν)  
 ἔτερος 3400 23  
 ἔτι 3409 13  
 ἔτοιμος 3420 7  
 ἔτος 3384 6, 7, 14 3386 10, 18, 21 3417 24  
 (ἔτος) 3385 4 3387 5 3388 4 3390 7 3391  
 7 3392 8 3395 14

εὐγνωμος 3394 18  
 εὐθυμέω 3396 4 3421 6  
 εὐμαρῶς 3394 7  
 εὐρίσκω 3393 7 3400 4, 8, 20 3401 5 3409 8  
 εὐσεβής 3394 5 (εὐσεβῆ τελέματα)  
 εὐτυχεῖω 3392 3  
 εὐτυχεῖς 3422 4 (εὐτυχεστάτη ἡμέρα)  
 εὐχαριστέω 3394 19  
 εὐχομαι 3385 3 3387 4 3396 3 3397 23  
 3398 22 3399 9 3400 28 3402 7 3403 14  
 3404 17 3408 28 3409 27 3410 33 3411  
 24 3413 18 3414 4 3415 13 3417 28  
 3418 12 3419 22 3420 42 3421 3 3422 5  
 3430 27  
 εὐχρηστέω 3393 18, 25  
 εὐθός 3426 6 (επθου pap.)  
 ἐχθεσις see ἔκθεσις  
 ἔχω 3386 13 3394 9 3400 11 3406 4, 5  
 3417 12 3420 29  
 εἶω (conj.) 3394 10 3396 19  
 εἶω (prep.) 3393 17 3397 22  
 ζῆμιω 3394 8  
 ζητέω 3393 8 3401 4, 11 3409 6  
 ζῆπος 3410 10  
 ζυγόν 3407 5  
 ἦ 3386 25 3397 18 3408 5 3420 18  
 ἡγεμῶν see Index IX  
 ἡδῆ 3396 12 3413 16 3420 45  
 ἡμεῖς 3390 4 3393 1, 11, 18, 19, 21, 24, 25  
 3394 4, 9, 11 3396 31 3397 15 3398 18  
 3400 7, 9, 12, 21, 23, 30 3403 11 3417 5  
 3419 5, 8, 9 (bis), 18 3420 45  
 ἡμέρα 3401 12 3407 16 3410 18 3417 6, 27  
 3422 4  
 ἡμέτερος 3387 2 3394 8 3407 7 3415 3  
 ἡμικος 3386 16, 22, 28 3396 18  
 θαλάττιος 3424 3  
 θαυμάζω 3417 3 3420 4  
 θεῖος see Index VIII  
 θέλω 3396 13 3397 10 3398 7 3400 9, 11, 18,  
 22, 30 3418 7 3419 10 3420 19  
 Θεός see Index VIII  
 θλίβω 3417 11, 19 3420 25  
 θρεπτός 3421 10  
 θυγάτηρ 3386 4 3420 29 3428 12, 13  
 θύρα 3386 24  
 ἰδία 3393 25  
 ἰδιος (noun) 3420 14  
 ἰερός see Index IX  
 ἴνα 3393 24 3398 14 3400 3, 31 3401 14

3403 7 3404 5 3406 4, 5 3409 19 3411 8, 22 3415 4 3418 3 3419 16 3420 6, 27, 46 3430 22  
 ἰνδίκτιον *see* Index IV  
 ἰσάτις 3428 19  
 ἰσος 3400 14  
 ἰσως 3420 43  
 κάγκελος *see* Index XI(a)  
 κάγῳ *see* ἐγῳ  
 καθάρων (loaf of fine bread) 3414 3 3425 4  
 καθαρός 3395 10  
 καθολικότης *see* Index IX  
 καθόλου *see* Index IX  
 καθῶς 3400 3, 14, 31, 34  
 καιηκοος (?) 3412 7  
 καῖω 3420 9  
 κάκη 3417 13 3420 25 (?)  
 κακός 3397 20 3420 25 (?)  
 καλῶς 3401 3 3403 5  
 κάμοι (καί ἐμοί) 3389 14  
 κᾶν 3409 23 3413 6 3417 14  
 κάππος *see* Index X  
 κατά c. gen. 3413 6 3421 13 *cf.* καθόλου  
 κατά c. acc. 3384 12 3386 13, 18, 21 3389 9 3393 14 3396 31 3397 5 3401 12 3417 6 3430 13, 23  
 κατάγειον 3384 10 (κάτακιον pap.) 3386 17  
 κατάκλειστος 3397 21 3409 9  
 κατακλείω 3409 15  
 κατακλυσιμός 3420 26  
 καταλείπω 3394 13  
 καταναγκάζω 3430 14  
 κατασπορά 3388 2  
 κατέχω 3412 8  
 κατοχή 3414 introd. 6  
 κελεύω 3398 10 3400 3, 22 n., 31 3411 16, 20  
 κεράμιον *see* Index XI(a)  
 κέρμα *see* Index XI(b)  
 κεφαλή 3408 18  
 κηρός 3410 11 3412 6 3428 16  
 κηρών 3412 6  
 κλεις 3386 24  
 κληρονόμος 3395 2 3420 44  
 κνίδιον *see* Index XI(a)  
 κοινωνός 3390 1 3396 16  
 κόκκος 3408 25  
 κομνηταρίσιος *see* Index IX  
 κόμης *see* Index IX  
 κομόδιον *see* Index XII  
 κόπτριον 3386 23  
 κορνηκου(λά)ρης *see* Index IX  
 κοῦμῆλον *see* κοῦμῆλον  
 κοῦμῆλον *see* Index XII  
 κρατέω 3416 19

κρέας 3391 5, 6, 8 3414 introd. *ad finem* 3414 3 3420 15, 30, 43 3424 11, 12, 13  
 κρηβή 3400 5 3408 8, 14, 15 3410 15 3429 2  
 κτάομαι 3393 13  
 κυβερνήτης *see* Index X  
 κυρία (mistress) 3396 1, 21, 22, 25, 30  
 κυριακός *see* Index VIII  
 κύριος (owner) 3416 18  
 κύριος (lord) 3389 11 3391 4 3394 4 3396 1, 22, 32 3397 1 3398 1, 15, 23 3399 1, 10 3400 1, 28 3401 introd. 1 3401 1 3402 1 3403 1 3407 9 3408 1, 31 3409 1, 29 3410 1, 40 3411 1 3413 1 3414 2 3417 1 3419 2 3421 1 3430 1, 29  
 κύριος (valid) 3386 26 3389 15  
 κωμάρχης, κώμαρχος *see* Index IX  
 κώμη 3393 7, 9, 13, 17 3398 6 3400 33 3416 13 3417 29 3425 8 3429 20  
 λάκκος 3409 25  
 λαμβάνω 3396 9 3400 6, 21 3404 9 3408 16  
 λαμπρός *see* Index IX  
 λανάριος *see* Index X  
 λέγω 3394 introd. 1 3398 8 3400 10, 12, 20 3403 7 3420 19, 21 *cf.* εἶπον  
 λήμμα 3397 introd. 7  
 λημματίζω 3420 31, 32  
 λίθος 3407 9  
 λίνον 3408 29 3410 7  
 λινοῦς 3426 10  
 λίτρα *see* Index XI(a)  
 λογίζομαι 3385 2 3422 4  
 λογιστής *see* Index IX  
 λόγος 3390 4 3415 6, 8 3416 introd. 10 3419 1, 14 3424 introd. 3426 2 3429 8 3430 23  
 λοιπάζω 3419 7  
 λοιπός 3408 7 3410 8, 15 3415 10 3424 13  
 λοιπόν 3400 18 3408 19 3417 14  
 μά 3397 5 3417 16  
 μάγειρος *see* Index X  
 μαγιστρός *see* Index IX  
 μάλο 3400 14 n.  
 μάλιστα 3430 12  
 μανθάνω 3398 6 3400 14 n., 15 3409 12, 14  
 μέγας 3397 5  
 μεθοδεύω 3430 32  
 μείζων *see* Index IX  
 μέλι 3406 10 3422 2  
 \*μελικηρίδιον 3406 11 (μελικηριδια pap.)  
 μέλλω 3411 11  
 μέν 3394 3 3396, 9, 10 3400 22, 26 3415 6 3420 39  
 μερίζω 3420 37  
 μερίς 3400 30

μέρος 3386 13, 16, 22, 29 3396 18  
 μετά c. gen. 3393 12 3396 14, 18 3397 6 3400 9, 12, 32 3407 4 3411 13 3419 11, 20 3420 25, 34 3430 17, 24, 32  
 μετά c. acc. 3386 21 3417 13  
 μεταδίδωμι 3410 16  
 μεταλαμβάνω 3414 introd. 4  
 μεταίετης 3393 26  
 μεταξύ *see* μετοξύ  
 μεταστέλλω 3393 22  
 μετοξύ 3393 11  
 μετρέω 3395 6 3400 20, 29  
 μετρι[ 3394 4  
 μέτρον *see* Index XI(a)  
 μή 3386 25, 31 3389 21 3393 18, 25 3395 19 3396 12, 13 3397 14 3403 9 3404 8, 10 3406 7 3407 18 3409 8, 11, 17, 21, 23 3411 19 3412 8 3413 4 3416 17 3417 17, 30 3419 19 3420 5, 9, 32, 43 3421 12  
 μηδεῖς, μηδέν 3393 13 3404 8  
 μήν (month) 3384 7, 12, 13 3386 11 3393 17  
 μήν (particle) 3420 43  
 μήτε 3420 6  
 μήτηρ 3384 5 3396 1, 29 3403 2  
 μιμησικω 3408 26  
 μισθός 3403 8 3416 16  
 μισθῶς 3384 3 3386 10, 28  
 μονάς *see* Index XI(b)  
 μοναχός *see* Index VIII  
 μόνον 3415 9 3418 10  
 μόνος 3386 19 3387 4 3388 3 3390 6 3395 11 3396 14 3405 5 3409 8 3410 17  
 μόσχος (calf) 3407 4  
 μούγον *see* Index XI(a)  
 μουράς 3390 5, 6 3396 14, 17 (bis) 3397 introd. 2, 4, 6-11 3399 5 (bis), 6, 7 (bis), 8 (bis) 3401 6 3402 5 (bis), 6 3405 5 3408 19 (bis) 3409 introd. 1, 2 3410 17 3420 17 3424 2, 4, 5, 7-9, 12 (bis) 3426 3, 5-13 3428 15-18, 20, 21 3429 14, 19, 24, 25  
 μαυρός 3409 21 (bis)  
 ναῖλον *see* Index XII  
 νευμαρία 3418 9  
 νομίζω 3409 9, 20  
 νομικός *see* Index IX  
 νομισματίον *see* Index XI(b)  
 ἴν 3396 6 3405 4  
 ξένος 3407 12  
 ὄδε 3389 9 3394 14  
 ὄδεῶν 3409 22 3430 24  
 ὄδα 3386 31 3389 21 3395 19 3396 9, 10

3397 8, 20 3404 9 3407 11 3410 37 3419 8, 14 3430 10  
 οἰκέω 3427 2  
 οἰκία 3384 10 3386 16, 23, 29  
 οἰονοπάτης *see* Index X  
 οἶνος 3385 2 3387 3, 4 3423 15 3425 1  
 ὀκνεῶ 3419 19  
 ὀκτωπλῆνον *see* ὀπτόπλῆνον  
 ὀλίγος 3407 21  
 ὀλίγως 3420 39  
 ὀλοκληρέω 3396 3  
 ὀλόκληρος 3384 9  
 ὀλοκότινος *see* Index XI(b)  
 ὀμιλῶ 3398 19  
 ὀμοῖος 3392 5 3409 introd. 2 3426 6, 12 3428 16  
 ὀμολογέω 3386 26 3389 17, 20  
 \*ὀνάς 3416 18  
 ὄνομα 3389 10 3396 31 3400 6, 10, 34  
 ὀπτόπλῆνον 3406 8 (ὀκτωπλῆνον)  
 ὄπως 3394 15 3410 6 3412 5 3420 4, 38 3421 11  
 ὄραω 3396 12 3411 18 3412 7 3413 13  
*cf.* εἶδον  
 ὄρθω 3414 introd. 8  
 ὄρμη 3430 21  
 ὄρειον 3425 6  
 ὄρος 3400 6, 33  
 ὄς 3385 2 3386 13, 24, 25 3389 16 3397 16 3403 4 3410 5 3411 10, 21 3413 3, 12 3417 26 (το = ὄ pap.) 3419 12, 21 3420 39  
 ὄσπερ 3400 7 3413 5  
 ὄτε 3411 11  
 ὄτι 3393 16 3396 9, 10, 13 3397 9 3398 4, 7, 8 3399 3 3400 10, 13, 14, 15, 20 3404 8, 10 3407 12 3409 12, 16 3417 23 3419 8 (ὄτι pap.) 3420 18, 43, 46 3430 10  
 οἶ, οἶκ, οἶχ 3393 16 3396 10 3397 10 14 3400 5, 9, 11 (bis), 13 3403 4 3404 11 3407 12, 21 3409 8, 12, 14, 16 3410 22 3415 9 3417 8, 10, 13, 23, 26 3420 10, 15, 18, 39, 40, 43 *see also* οἶχί  
 οἶδέ 3396 5, 6 3400 11 3420 44  
 οἶδέεις 3393 11 3397 4, 23  
 οἶν 3401 7 3403 5 3407 18 3409 12, 24 3411 8 3419 19 3420 14, 23 3430 10, 25  
 οἶτε 3417 8, 9  
 οἶτος (adj.) 3393 26 3400 33 3417 29(?)  
 οἶτος (pron.) 3393 5, 10, 21 3394 7, 14 3395 12 3397 6, 14, 15 3398 10 3400 6 3409 15, 24 3414 introd. 8 3417 29(?) 3419 15  
 οἴτω 3410 18 3420 4, 13, 20  
 οἴτως 3400 32 3420 10 3426 4  
 οἶχί 3430 4 *cf.* οἶ  
 ὀφθαλμικός *see* Index IX

πάκτων 3406 7  
 πακτωνάριον 3406 3  
 παλαιός 3410 23, 36  
 πάλιν 3396 10, 20 3400 30 n. 3403 3 3420 17, 46  
 πανελεύθριον *see* Index VIII  
 παντής 3393 14  
 παντοῦτος 3392 4 3393 8  
 πάντως 3407 13  
 πᾶν 3416 10  
 παρά c. gen. 3385 1 3386 8 3387 1 3388 1 3393 4, 14 3394 2, 16 3395 7 3396 4, 9, 32 3397 introd. 8-11 3399 4 3400 6 3406 1 3407 1 3408 16 3410 5 3414 introd. 4 3421 8 3425 7 3427 1 3429 13-16, 18, 19, 20 n.  
 παρά c. dat. 3389 11 3401 5 3409 5, 11, 23 3417 26  
 παρά c. acc. 3394 8  
 παραβάλλω 3393 11  
 παραγγέλλω 3404 7  
 παραδίωμι 3386 22, 25 3400 31  
 παραλαβῆναι 3386 24 3400 4  
 \*παραμένωμι 3396 19  
 παραμένω *see* παραμένωμι  
 παραμετρέω 3406 3  
 παράστασις 3430 16  
 παραστήμι 3389 14  
 πᾶρεμι 3389 14 3393 17  
 παρέχω 3385 2 3387 2 3388 2 3391 3 3392 1 3393 11 3394 15 3396 8 3405 2, 4 3410 33 3414 2 3430 30  
 πᾶς 3384 12 3386 17, 23 3389 19 3393 7, 23 3394 3 3396 30 3397 12 3401 11 3404 8 3408 21, 26 3414 introd. 6 3417 22 3420 9, 22, 27 3423 10  
 πασιπλάς *see* Index X  
 πᾶσχω 3394 8  
 πατήρ 3393 4 3396 1, 27, 28, 32 3419 9  
 πατρὶς 3393 26 3394 13  
 πᾶτρων 3420 1, 47  
 πᾶν 3420 24  
 πεδουφύλαξ *see* Index IX  
 πείθω 3393 9  
 πειράω 3406 6  
 πέμπω 3398 4 3403 4, 6, 10 3420 20  
 πενία 3393 13  
 πέντε 3388 3 3410 17 *see also* εἰκοσι π., τριάκοντα π.  
 πενήκοντα 3399 6  
 περί c. gen. 3396 5, 6 3397 3, 16 3398 5, 10 3400 6, 13, 19 3401 3, 9 3403 4, 11 3407 23 3409 6, 24 3414 introd. 8 3417 7 3418 2 3420 14, 16, 40, 43 3421 5, 10 3423 1, 7, 9, 10, 15

περιπα...ειν 3409 22  
 περιστασις 3397 15  
 πιπράσκω 3429 20 n.  
 πίπτω 3409 25  
 πιπτάκιον 3429 8, 9, 10, 12, 13  
 πλατικός 3420 12  
 πλείστος 3394 10 3403 2 3413 9 *cf.* πολὺς  
 πλεονεξία 3394 12  
 πλήρης 3392 5, 7 3395 13 3404 6  
 πληρώω 3394 6, 7 3397 12 3412 6 3416 14 3419 10, 17 3420 28, 36, 38  
 πληρώνω 3411 14  
 πλοῖον 3395 2, 8 3423 13 3427 7  
 ποιέω 3389 10, 18 3393 9, 19, 21 3394 14, 18 3396 11 3397 5, 11 3398 13, 18, 20 3400 25 3403 5 3408 22 3411 18 3412 5 3416 12 3417 8, 21 3419 12, 16, 21 3420 8, 32, 36, 44 3430 17, 21  
 πολ- 3413 5  
 πόλις 3384 4, 6, 9 3386 9, 14, 16 3389 6, 7 3393 5 3394 3, 17 3395 4 3396 20 3397 12, 19, 20 3399 4 3400 7 3409 7, 13, 19 3416 9 3417 20 3418 6, 9 3420 20 3421 9 3423 3 3430 11, 22  
 πολιτεύω *see* Index IX s.v. πολιτευόμενος  
 πολλάκις 3397 3  
 πολὺς 3393 13 3397 24 3398 22 3399 9 3400 26 3402 8 3403 13 3409 28 3414 5 3417 4 3418 13 3419 22 3420 42 3422 5 3430 28 *cf.* πλείστος  
 ποσάκις 3396 4  
 πόσος 3420 16, 43, 46  
 ποσότης 3393 14 3401 5  
 πράγμα 3398 12 3400 11, 27 3416 20 3417 7  
 πραγματευτής *see* Index IX  
 πραιπόσιτος *see* Index IX  
 πραιώριον *see* Index IX  
 πρεσβύτερος 3429 10  
 πρὶν 3430 20, 24  
 πρὸς 3393 5 3420 6, 46 π. τοῦ 3400 34  
 προαίρεσις 3411 23  
 πρόβατον 3420 37  
 προδοχὴ 3397 introd. 2  
 πρόεδρος *see* Index IX  
 προερέω 3393 16 *cf.* προλέγω  
 προηγουμένος 3396 3 3421 3  
 πρόκειμαι 3386 27, 30 3389 19 3395 8, 15, 16  
 προλέγω 3393 9 *cf.* προερέω  
 προνοήτης *see* Index X  
 πρόνοια *see* Index VIII  
 προσπολιτεύωμι *see* Index IX s.v. προσπολιτευόμενος  
 πρόσ c. acc. 3394 17 3396 7, 15 3398 3, 5, 7, 15, 17, 21 3404 3 3407 8, 26 3409 9 3412 3 3417 18, 30 (*bis*) 3419 4 3429 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 20 n.

προαίτησις 3424 1  
 προδοκία 3394 8  
 προδοχὴ 3397 9 *see also* προδοχὴ  
 πρόσειμι 3389 13  
 προσβήθη 3424 11  
 πρόσκαιρον *see* Index XII  
 προσφέρω 3407 22  
 προσφωνέω 3404 10  
 (πρότερον) 3428 6  
 προτρέπω 3393 5  
 πρόσφασις 3409 15  
 προχράω 3393 19, 24  
 προχρεία 3393 7, 11  
 πρωτεῖον *see* Index XII  
 πυνθάνομαι 3404 12  
 (τυρὸς) 3388 3  
 πῶς 3417 4

ῥητός 3393 14  
 ῥιτάριος *see* Index IX  
 ῥισπὴ 3417 22 3420 27 3430 14  
 ῥώνομι 3385 3 3387 4 3397 23 3398 22 3399 9 3400 28 3402 7 3403 12 3404 17 3408 27 3409 27 3410 33 3411 23 3412 10 3413 18 3414 4 3415 12 3416 21 3417 28 3418 12 3419 21 3420 41 3422 5 3430 27

εακκοφορικός *see* Index XII  
 εαντοῦ 3411 9  
 εημεύομαι 3388 3 3390 7 3391 8 3392 10 3405 5  
 εήμερον 3397 7, 14, 23 3407 7, 14 3408 3 3412 10 3416 9 3417 24, 29 3420 45  
 είκωσις 3426 5  
 ειπίπιν 3408 9, 11 3410 14 3416 5 3423 9 3428 16 3429 14  
 ειτολόγος *see* Index IX  
 εἶτος 3388 2 3395 10 3400 4 (*bis*), 19 3408 24 3410 13, 19 3423 10  
 \*ειτόφακον 3406 4  
 εὐς 3403 3, 6 3420 5, 35  
 εὔθιλον *see* Index XI(a)  
 εσκευολάτωρ *see* Index IX  
 σπουδάζω 3397 7, 13, 17 3401 7 3403 10 3407 3 3408 3, 14 3422 2 3430 13  
 σπουδῆ 3419 10  
 στενωχῶρ-3394 13  
 στερέω 3421 13(?)  
 στήρησις 3421 13(?)  
 στήρις 3422 4  
 στιχάριον 3426 10  
 στοά 3386 16  
 στρατηγός *see* Index IX  
 στρατιώτης *see* Index IX

ετρέβλωσις 3430 24, 32  
 σύ 3385 3 3387 4 3389 8, 16 3394 14, 19 3396 3, 4 3397 3, 9, 20, 23 3398 5, 7, 22 3399 3, 9 3400 6, 28 3403 5, 12 3404 3, 17 3408 28 3409 5, 11, 21, 23, 27 3410 16, 33, 37 3411 13 (*éou* gen.), 15, 20, 22, 24 3412 3 3413 5, 6, 18 3414 introd. 4 3414 4 3418 12 3419 4, 10, 22 3420 14, 22, 28, 33, 42 3421 5, 7, 9, 10 3422 5 (*bis*) 3430 27 *see also* ἡμεῖς  
 συλλαμβάνω 3419 11 n.  
 συμβαίνω 3413 15 n.  
 συμβάλλω 3419 11, 19  
 συμβιβάζω 3410 7  
 σύμβωσις 3396 21, 25 3403 7  
 σύμμαχος *see* Index IX  
 συμμένω 3393 25 3394 19  
 συμπεληρώω 3415 5  
 συμπελήρωσις 3405 3 3429 19 3430 31  
 συμφέρω 3404 15  
 συμφορῆς 3395 16  
 σύν c. gen. 3384 11 3408 18 3424 3  
 σύν c. dat. 3386 17  
 συντένω 3393 12  
 συντίθημι 3400 32 3407 14 3410 18  
 σύρις 3407 9  
 σφάλμα 3413 7  
 σχοῖον 3407 5  
 σχολλάω 3400 13  
 ταβουλᾶριος *see* Index IX  
 τάλαντον *see* Index XI(b)  
 ταμίον *see* Index IX  
 ταυρελάτης *see* Index X  
 τάχα 3420 26  
 τάχος 3400 24 3401 13 3403 10  
 τε 3415 11  
 τέκνον 3396 26, 28, 30 3430 8, 17  
 τέλεσμα *see* Index XII  
 τέλειω 3384 12 3400 34  
 τέσσαρες 3414 3 (*bis*) 3415 7 3422 3 *see also* εἰκοσι τ.  
 τέταρτος 3419 7, 13  
 τιμὴ 3385 2 3386 25 3401 13 3404 14 3420 6, 17, 24, 43, 45 (*bis*) 3422 4 3426 3, 5, 6, 10 3428 16 3429 3, 19  
 τῆρων *see* Index IX  
 τῆρωνῆτος *see* Index XII  
 τις 3400 19  
 τίς 3397 9 3398 20 3409 14 3410 33  
 τῶν 3393 13  
 τόκος 3393 17  
 τοσοῦτος 3394 11 3417 29  
 τουτέστιν 3407 16  
 τραπέζιτης *see* Index IX

τρεις 3384 6 3385 3 3417 24, 27  
 τριακοντα πέντε 3395 11  
 τριακόσιοι 3405 3  
 τρίτος 3392 4  
 τρύφιμος 3411 5  
 τροχός 3407 23  
 τρύγη 3406 6  
 τυπώω 3430 22  
 τύχη 3394 17 3430 3

ύβρις 3393 12 3407 22  
 ύγιαίνω 3396 3  
 \*ύέλς *see* Index X  
 ύός 3386 5 3393 20 3394 introd. 2 3408 1,  
 31 3409 1, 29 3410 1, 40 3430 1, 29  
 ύμεις 3386 13 3393 22 3395 7 3396 4, 5, 7, 8,  
 10, 12, 13, 18 3407 12, 26 3415 13 3417 3, 21  
 23, 25, 28, 30  
 ύπάρχω 3384 8 3386 12  
 ύπατεία *see* Index III  
 ύπερ c. gen. 3384 12 3386 31 3389 21 3392  
 2, 4, 5 3395 9, 18 3397 17 3416 introd. 10  
 3417 25 3420 44 3424 introd. 3427 3, 6  
 3428 15, 16, 17, 20 3429 3, 7, 24 3430 6  
 ύπερ c. acc. 3417 3  
 ύπεύθυνος 3393 23 3408 16 3412 5  
 ύπηρεία 3387 2 3391 3 3414 2  
 ύπό c. gen. 3393 6, 16, 19, 24 3416 11 3417 12,  
 19 3419 5  
 ύπό c. acc. 3386 15  
 ύποβάλλω 3400 14  
 ύποδέχομαι 3399 3 *cf.* ύποδέχω  
 \*ύποδέχω 3400 5, 18, 23 (*bis*), 31 *cf.* ύποδέχομαι  
 ύποθη[ 3400 27  
 ύποτίθημι 3400 27(?)  
 ύστερον 3420 9

φάσις 3396 6 3403 4 3418 11  
 (-)φέρω 3400 16 n.  
 φέρω 3387 3 3396 12 3408 10 3430 8  
 φήμη 3401 9  
 φθάνω 3420 11, 46  
 φιλέω 3396 31  
 φρο( ) 3402 6  
 φροντιστής *see* Index X

φρουρός *see* Index IX  
 φύλαξ *see* Index IX

χαίρω 3385 1 3387 1 3388 1 3389 8 3390 2  
 3391 2 3395 6 3396 2 3401 introd. 3  
 3400 2 3401 2 3402 2 3403 2 3404 2  
 3405 1 3406 2 3407 2 3411 4 3412 2  
 3414 1 3416 3 3419 3 3422 1

χάριν 3397 6, 15  
 χάρυβδις 3423 6  
 χείρ 3400 32 3426 8, 11 3429 4  
 χειριστής *see* Index IX

χίλιοι 3399 6

χλαμύς 3404 12

χλευάζω 3430 4

χλωρός 3392 5

χορηγέω 3393 18 3413 10 n. 3417 24

χρότος 3392 6 (*χρότου*) 3410 11 n. 3413 10  
 3429 3

χράω 3419 9

χρεία 3393 10 3430 10

χρεωτέω 3411 7, 10

χρηματίζω 3389 5

χρηστήριον 3384 11 3386 17

χρόνος 3384 6 3386 10, 22 3397 24 3398 23

3399 9 3402 8 3403 13 3409 28 3414 5

3418 13 3419 23 3420 42 3422 5 3430 28

χρότος *see* χάρτος

χρυσάργυρον *see* Index XII

χρυσίον 3397 22

χρυσός 3401 10 3402 4 3408 21 3420 44

3423 5, 7 3429 18

χώρα 3393 6

χωρίον 3410 11 n. 3430 5, 9, 23

ψαλις *see* ψελλίς

ψελλίς 3409 25

ψδε 3406 4 3411 15

ψρα 3412 8 3416 4 3422 2

ψς 3386 [30 3389 5, 14 3395 16 3400 18 23,

24, 29 3410 16 3420 14

ψς 3413 6 3417 14

ψς 3411 16

ψς 3393 6 3394 11 3409 20 3419 6 3430 7,